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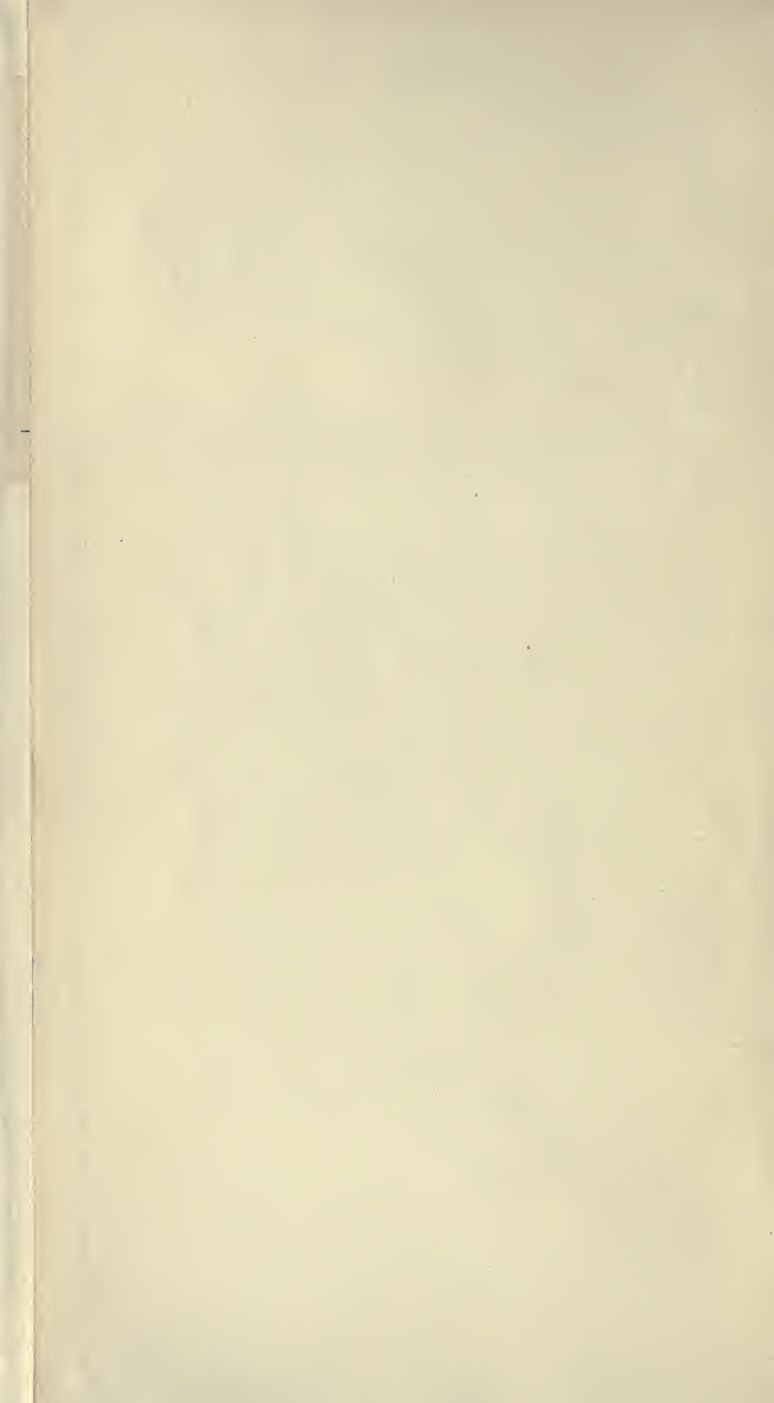
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*Ben Harrison*

"We lead all nations in Agriculture, we lead all nations in Mining, and we lead all nations in Manufacturing. These are the trophies which we bring after twenty-nine years of a Protective Tariff. Can any other system furnish such evidence of prosperity? There is no country in the world where individual enterprise has such wide and varied range and where the inventive genius of man has such encouragement."

—WM. McKINLEY, Jr.

*Republican party, National Committee*

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The

**REPUBLICAN CAMPAIGN**

**TEXT-BOOK**

For 1892.

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AND

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# PRESIDENT HARRISON.

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**Just the Kind of an American Whom  
Americans Love to Honor.**

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**A SKETCH OF HIS LIFE AND RECORD.**

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**Soldier and Statesman.**

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Benjamin Harrison, twenty-third President of the United States, was born in North Bend, Ohio, August 20, 1833. His father, John Scott Harrison, was twice elected to Congress; his grandfather, William Henry Harrison, the hero of Tippecanoe, was the ninth President of the United States, and Benjamin Harrison, his great-grandfather, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, was four times Member of Congress, and three times Governor of Virginia; all were men of rugged character, plain and unpretending. Like the boyhood of Lincoln and Grant, the early years of Benjamin Harrison were spent in a country home, in a section where schools were few. But the lessons learned by the President in his youth were more needful, perhaps, to the full development of his character than the study of books—the lessons of industry and thrift. In this school of experience he acquired that love of and capacity for hard, earnest work which leads him now to attend to his own correspondence rather than use a stenographer.

John Scott Harrison, the President's father, was never a politician. Public honors he did not care for. He found in the homely tasks of the farm his life work, and in laboring to give his children a good education his highest duty. Benjamin took a serious interest in the farm work. His tasks were similar to those of the farmer boy of to-day. He worked in the fields, helped at harvest time, and it is said that the tallow dips which lighted up the big "family room" at the evening gatherings were made by him.

The Harrison home was hallowed by the presence of a Christian mother. Mrs. Harrison was a woman of much gentleness, strength and earnestness. Her spirit pervaded the place, and its influence, exerted more through example than admonition, instilled in her boys traits which made the possessors of them upright men and good citizens.

## HARRISON AT SCHOOL.

Amidst such environments President Harrison passed his childhood. The country surrounding the farm was sparsely settled. It offered none of the advantages

for education that the father was so anxious his children should enjoy, so he engaged private teachers and opened a school in a log cabin not far from the farm. In this rough building Benjamin's school life began. The masters had but few facilities for teaching. Books were scarce and costly. The school-house was meanly furnished, the windows were small and few, cracks and openings in roof and sides let in wind and rain, and the seats were made of slabs without backs. The future President was an apt pupil. He soon outgrew his teacher's ability to give him further instruction. At the age of fourteen he was sent to Farmer's College, at College Hill, near Cincinnati. Here he began the study of the dead languages and acquired a love for literature that he still cherishes. In the fall of 1850 he entered the junior class at Miami University, where he was graduated, in 1852, fourth in a class of sixteen. While at the university he first displayed that remarkable talent for extempore speaking which he has so often exhibited to the admiration of the public since he became Chief Magistrate.

#### EARLY AN ORATOR.

In 1853 he married Miss Caroline Scott, a daughter of Dr. John W. Scott, principal of a young ladies' seminary at Oxford, Ohio.

President Harrison's earliest inclinations with regard to a profession were towards the law, and after leaving Miami he began to study in Cincinnati in the office of Stover & Gwynne. His practice began in Indianapolis, where he settled in 1854. He formed a copartnership with Mr. William Wallace, and of his abilities as a lawyer Mr. Wallace says: "He very soon displayed his admirable qualities. He was quick of apprehension, clear, methodical and logical in his analysis and statement of a case. He possessed a natural faculty for getting the exact truth out of a witness. In this he has few equals anywhere in the profession; \* \* \* and when occasion demanded he showed the rarest powers of the genuine orator."

#### FIRST SUCCESSES AT THE BAR.

At this time the President was twenty-one years of age. He was poor. It was a hard struggle for daily bread. He even did the work around the house for a long time that he might not exceed in expenditure his income. His noble wife cheerfully shared with him the burden. The story is told how he first came into prominence as a lawyer. He had been engaged as counsel in an important suit. When the time came for him to make his argument he was much disconcerted to find the room too dark for him to read from the copious notes he had taken of the evidence. In desperation he flung the notes aside and began to speak. He found his memory perfect and himself at ease. His argument was unanswerable, and the cause was won. He soon became recognized as one of the ablest, as well as the most painstaking, members of the Indiana bar. His partnership with Mr. Wallace ended with his election, in 1860, as Reporter of the Supreme Court, a position to which he was re-elected in 1864.



## HE GOES TO THE WAR LIKE A MAN.

President Harrison began to take an active part in politics so early as 1856. In the first Lincoln campaign he came into notice as a political speaker. In the great debates of 1860 he was at one time pitted against Thomas A. Hendricks. Mr. Hendricks sized up his youthful opponent as one unworthy of his oratory, a person to be crushed with a word and a gesture. It did not take him long to find out his mistake. The young Republican got clearly the better of him. He never afterwards questioned Benjamin Harrison's powers as a debater.

At a time during the Civil War when it looked dark for the Union, Governor Morton urged Harrison to assist in raising troops, saying that, as Harrison had just been elected Reporter of the Supreme Court, he would find some one else to take command. The President's reply shows the splendid character of the man: "If I make speeches and ask men to go, I purpose to go with them." "Very well," the Governor said; "if you want to go, you can command the regiment." "I do not know that I want to command the regiment," responded Mr. Harrison; "so, if you can find some suitable person of experience in such matters, I am not at all anxious to take command."

## A BRAVE AND SUCCESSFUL SOLDIER.

He raised the regiment, and, as its Colonel, went with it into camp at Bowling Green, Ky. Colonel Harrison was a disciplinarian, yet he required of his men no hardship he was not willing to share with them. Although, at first, there was some grumbling over the hard duties of army life, yet finally the regiment took as much pride and interest in the thorough drill to which they were subjected as the Colonel himself. In its moral aspects he attempted to make the camp a counterpart of home. Though strict, Colonel Harrison was never harsh. His men loved and honored him. His sympathy with the sick and dying was deep and sincere. He was courageous. No danger made him flinch. His regiment shared his courage and made for itself a lasting fame. As a part of the Twentieth Army Corps it fought in Sherman's victorious campaign against General Joseph Johnstone.

During this campaign Colonel Harrison frequently distinguished himself by his quick, courageous action. At Peach Tree Creek, Georgia, July 20, 1864, he saved the day. General Hooker, in a report recommending Colonel Harrison for promotion, said: "My attention was first attracted to this young officer by the superior excellence of his brigade in discipline and instruction, the result of his labor, skill and devotion. In all the achievements of the Twentieth Corps in that campaign Colonel Harrison bore a conspicuous part. At Resaca and Peach Tree Creek the conduct of himself and command was especially distinguished."

He shared in the Battle of Nashville as commander of a temporary brigade. In June, 1865, he received his discharge, after having been breveted Brigadier-General.

## ELECTED AS MEMBER OF THE SENATE.

Home again, he entered with renewed zest upon the practice of his profession, taking, also, an active part in politics. He has been engaged in many noted causes, in one of which—the action against the Order of the Sons of Liberty—the opposing counsel was his old antagonist, Mr. Hendricks. In 1876 President Harrison was nominated for Governor. He was defeated, but ran 2,000 ahead of his ticket. His election to the United States Senate, in 1881, was as much a spontaneous tribute to the worth of the man as an acknowledgment of his ability. He was offered, but declined, a place in President Garfield's Cabinet. Of his career in the Senate and his distinguished services all know. His speeches on the questions of the times were splendid efforts of thought and logic, and were listened to with care and attention. His views on every question were clearly defined.

## HIS CAREER AS CHIEF MAGISTRATE.

In 1888 Mr. Harrison was elected President of the United States, having in the Electoral College sixty-five votes over Mr. Cleveland, the Democratic nominee. In the administration of the affairs of office President Harrison has shown a marvelous capacity for work. He does his own writing, not liking dictation to stenographers. The import of the grave questions of the day he seems to grasp intuitively. Upon the tariff, financial and other great issues, he never speaks in vague or doubtful phrases. His messages to Congress are penned with no lagging hand. In our relations with foreign Governments, where the honor of the nation has been affected, President Harrison has been sternly, uncompromisingly, patriotically American. The dignity of the United States has been upheld on land and sea.

## A PRESIDENT WHO IS PRESIDENT.

He has worked unceasingly for the furtherance and practical execution of all the policies to which the party he leads is committed. He has been most emphatically its general. He has been its advocate, too, and by speech and act has contributed mightily to new and noble pages in its glorious history. He has been President in veriest deed. His mind and hand have been in sole authority in all branches of his Administration. He has accepted all the responsibilities the law has placed upon him; and at the close of his first term he is presented by his party for re-election as a President who has made no failures and few mistakes. The triumphs of his term are legion, as these pages will tell, and those who differ from him and his party can point to no feature of his record which is not eloquent of reasons why he should be continued in the office he has administered so worthily.

# WHITELAW REID.

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## His Career as Editor, Orator and Statesman.

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## A LIFE OF INFLUENCE AND BRILLIANT SUCCESS.

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Whitelaw Reid, the Republican nominee for Vice-President, was born in Xenia, Ohio, in October, 1837. His father was Robert Charlton Reid and his mother Marian Whitelaw Ronalds, whose ancestors were of the Clan Ronald of Scotch history. His paternal grandfather, also Scotch, emigrated to this country at the close of the last century and settled in Kentucky. In 1800 he crossed over into Ohio and bought land in Cincinnati. One of the conditions of the sale was that the purchaser should run a ferry every day in the week across the Ohio River. The Scotchman, a strict Covenanter, rebelled at this obligation to break the Sabbath, and gave up his bargain. He removed to Green County and was one of the earliest settlers in Xenia.

### AN APT AND SERIOUS STUDENT.

The early education of Whitelaw Reid was intrusted to an uncle, Dr. Hugh McMillan, principal of the Xenia Academy, one of the best preparatory schools in the State.

The young man was in capable hands. He was taught so well in Latin that when, at the age of fifteen, he entered, as a sophomore, Miami University, of which his uncle was a trustee, no pupil there was more proficient in Latin than he.

He was graduated in 1856 and became principal of a graded school in South Charlestown, Ohio. With a sense of obligation characteristically Scottish he repaid his father, out of his first earnings, the expenses of his senior year at the University.

### ADVOCATING FREMONT AND FREEDOM.

While as a teacher he was successful, his natural bent was towards journalism. He soon found an opportunity to engage in newspaper work, and became proprietor of *The Xenia News*. Under his management the paper was both morally and financially successful. His first considerable political work was done in advocating on the stump the election of John C. Fremont.

At this time he became a constant reader of *The New York Tribune*. *The News* was the first Western paper outside of Illinois to advocate the election of Lincoln.

Mr. Reid went to Columbus to meet Lincoln after the latter's great speech in Cooper Institute, New York, and introduced him at the railway station to the people. While acting during the Lincoln campaign as secretary of the Green County Republican Committee, and taking other active parts in politics, his health gave way, and he traveled through the Northwest.

#### HE GOES TO THE WAR AS A CORRESPONDENT.

The following winter he spent in Columbus as the legislative correspondent of *The Cincinnati Times*. He left that paper to take a position with *The Cleveland Herald*, but soon afterward became correspondent for *The Commercial Gazette*, of Cincinnati. His work for that great newspaper brought him into national prominence. He was soon promoted to be city editor, but at the beginning of the war was sent to the front as correspondent. He went with McClellan into West Virginia. Gen. Morris had command of the advance, and Mr. Reid was assigned to duty as volunteer aide-de-camp with rank of captain.

His letters, under the signature of "Agate," furnished pen pictures of the war as graphic and effective as any that were written. He was promptly recognized as one of the most forceful writers of the country. After resuming for a short time his editorial work in *The Gazette* office, he was assigned to duty in the second campaign which ended in the battles of Carnifex Ferry and Ganley Bridge. In 1861-62 he went to Fort Donelson. He recorded the Tennessee campaign, and was the only correspondent who witnessed the fight at Pittsburg Landing. No more accurate or brilliant account of that terrible battle has ever been written than his.

As Washington correspondent for *The Gazette*, his ability as a writer and thinker caused Horace Greeley to speak of him as a man for whom the future had much in store.

#### MR. GREELEY CALLS HIM TO "THE TRIBUNE."

Mr. Reid went with Chief-Justice Chase on a trip through the South in 1866, which resulted in his writing a book—"After the War; A Southern Tour." He tried his hand at cotton raising, but gained more experience than money in the venture. His "Ohio in the War" is a careful compilation of facts in regard to the great part his State played in the conflict.

After finishing this work Mr. Reid went back to his place as chief editorial writer for *The Gazette*. He now had a proprietary interest in the paper. Mr. Greeley before this time had invited him to take a place on *The Tribune's* staff, and, receiving another and more urgent offer, Mr. Reid left Ohio and became an editorial writer for *The Tribune*.

When John Russell Young's connection as managing editor with the paper ceased, Mr. Reid took that post, and, after Mr. Greeley's nomination to the Presidency, he became editor-in-chief.

#### CHOSEN AS MR. GREELEY'S SUCCESSOR.

At the close of the campaign of 1872, the control of *The Tribune* was committed to him. Many supposed the paper to be irretrievably ruined. But, easily obtaining



the capital necessary to produce good results, Mr. Reid entered ardently upon the task of rebuilding its fortunes. He gathered about him a staff of general and magnificent talent; among his assistants were Bayard Taylor, George W. Smalley, John Hay, William Winter, E. C. Stedman and George Ripley. The paper quickly obtained more than its old popularity and influence.

Mr. Reid, though often tempted to accept political office, had uniformly declined until President Harrison was elected and the French Mission was tendered to him. He had chosen to work as a newspaper exponent of Republican principles rather than as an official. He declined the Mission to Germany, though twice offered him—once by President Hayes and again by President Garfield. But in 1889 he had become more reconciled to the idea of leaving his work as a journalist, for a time at least, and accepted President Harrison's offer of the Ministry at Paris. There was needed at the French capital an American Minister whose strong personality, energy and ability might render him capable of carrying out the plans of this Government to secure needed changes in French legislation concerning American commercial interests.

#### NOTABLE DIPLOMATIC VICTORIES.

Minister Reid's work in France proved him the possessor of rare diplomatic talents. He secured the repeal of the decree prohibiting the importation of American meats, and negotiated reciprocity and extradition treaties. Never were the relations between France and the United States more cordial and satisfactory than at the time Minister Reid, early in the present year, felt obliged to resign his position. His work in France brought him many honors, and this, together with his eminent service to the party as an editor and orator, rendered him particularly available to become with General Harrison a standard-bearer in the National Campaign of 1892. He was unanimously nominated for the Vice-Presidency at the request of the solid delegation from New York. Mr. Reid married, in 1881, Miss Elizabeth Mills, a daughter of D. O. Mills. Mrs. Reid's entertainments in Paris and her unremitting attentions to the American colony and to American visitors and travelers rendered her exceedingly popular among her countrymen, and greatly promoted the success of Mr. Reid's mission.

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“The Western farmer's instinct is wiser than Mr. Gladstone's philosophy. The farmer knows that the larger the home market the better are his prices, and that as the home market is narrowed his prices fall.”

—JAMES G. BLAINE.

# THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM

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Principles and Policies Represented  
by Harrison and Reid.

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## WHAT THE REPUBLICAN PARTY COMMENDS.

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Adopted at Minneapolis, June 10, 1892.

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The representatives of the Republicans of the United States, assembled in general convention on the shores of the Mississippi River, the everlasting bond of an indestructible republic, whose most glorious chapter of history is the record of the Republican party, congratulate their countrymen on the majestic march of the nation under the banners inscribed with the principles of our platform of 1888, vindicated by victory at the polls and prosperity in our fields, workshops and mines, and make the following declaration of principles :

### I.

#### THE TARIFF AND RECIPROCITY.

We reaffirm the **American doctrine of protection**. We call attention to its growth abroad. We maintain that the prosperous condition of our country is largely due to the wise revenue legislation of the Republican Congress.

#### HOW DUTIES SHOULD BE LEVIED.

We believe that all articles which **cannot** be produced in the United States, except luxuries, should be admitted **free of duty**, and that on all imports **coming into competition** with the products of American labor there should be duties levied **equal to the difference** between wages abroad and at home.



## VALUES GENERALLY REDUCED.

We assert that the prices of manufactured articles of general consumption have been reduced under the operations of the Tariff Act of 1890. We denounce the efforts of the Democratic majority of the House **to destroy our tariff laws** by piecemeal, as manifested by their attacks on wool, lead and lead ore, and we ask the people for their judgment thereon.

## RECIPROCITY AND ITS WONDERFUL SUCCESS.

We point to the success of the **Republican policy of Reciprocity**, under which **export trade** has vastly **increased**, and new and enlarged **markets** have been **opened** for the products of our farms and workshops. We remind the people of the bitter opposition of the Democratic party to **this practical business measure**, and claim that, executed by a Republican administration, our present laws **will eventually give us control of the trade of the world.**

## II.

### SILVER AND CURRENCY.

The American people, from tradition and interest, **favor bimetallism**, and the Republican party demands the use of **both gold and silver** as standard money, with such restrictions and under such provisions, to be determined by legislation, as will secure the maintenance of the **parity of values** of the two metals, so that the purchasing and debt-paying power of the dollar, whether of silver, gold or paper, shall be at all times equal.

### EVERY DOLLAR MUST BE AS GOOD AS ANY.

The interests of the producers of the country—its farmers and its workingmen—demand that **every dollar**, paper or coin, issued by the Government **shall be as good as any other dollar.** We commend the wise and patriotic steps already taken by our Government to secure such an **international conference** to adopt such measures as will insure a parity of value between gold and silver for use as money throughout the world.

## III.

### FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS.

We demand that every citizen of the United States shall be allowed to cast **one free and unrestricted ballot** in all public elections, and that such ballot shall be counted and returned as cast; that such laws shall be enacted and enforced as will secure to every citizen, be he rich or poor, native or foreign born, white or black, this sovereign right, guaranteed by the Constitution,—the free and honest popular ballot, the

## JUST AND EQUAL REPRESENTATION

of all the people, as well as the just and equal protection under the laws as the foundation of our Republican institutions, and the party will never relax its efforts until the **integrity of the ballot and the purity of elections** shall be fully guaranteed and protected in every State.

## POLITICAL OUTRAGES MUST STOP.

We denounce the continued inhuman outrages perpetrated on American citizens for political reasons in certain States of the Union.

## IV.

### FOREIGN RELATIONS.

We favor the extension of our foreign commerce, the **restoration of our mercantile marine** by home-built ships, and the construction of a navy for the protection of our national interests and the honor of our flag; the maintenance of the most friendly relations with foreign powers, entangling alliances with none, and the protection of the rights of our fishermen.

### THE IMMIGRATION EVIL.

We reaffirm our approval of the Monroe doctrine, and believe in the achievement of the **manifest destiny of the Republic** in its broadest sense. We favor the enactment of more stringent laws and regulations for the **restriction of criminal, pauper and contract immigration.**

## V.

### LAWS TO PROTECT LABOR.

We favor efficient legislation by Congress **to protect the life and limbs** of employees of the railroad companies engaged in carrying interstate commerce, and recommend legislation by the respective States that will protect employees engaged in interstate commerce, and in mining and manufacturing.

## VI.

### SYMPATHY FOR IRISH HOME RULE.

The Republican party has always been the champion of the oppressed, and recognizes the dignity of manhood irrespective of faith, color or nationality. It sympathizes with the cause of **home rule in Ireland**, and protests against the persecution of the Jews in Russia. The ultimate reliance of free popular government is the intelligence of the people, and the maintenance of freedom among men.

## VII.

### FREE SPEECH AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

We declare anew our devotion to **liberty of thought and conscience**, of speech and press, and approve all agencies and instrumentalities which contribute to the education of the children of the land; but, while insisting upon the fullest measure of religious liberty, we are **opposed to any union of church and state**.

## VIII.

### TRUSTS AND ILLEGAL COMBINATIONS.

We reaffirm our opposition, declared in the Republican platform of 1888, to **all combinations of capital** organized to control arbitrarily the condition of trade among our citizens. We heartily indorse the action taken on this issue, and ask for such further legislation as may be required to remedy any defects in existing laws, and to render their enforcement more complete and effective.

## IX.

### POST OFFICE REFORMS.

We approve the policy of extending to towns and rural communities the advantages of the **free delivery service** now enjoyed by the large cities of the country, and reaffirm the declaration contained in the Republican platform of 1888, pledging the reduction of **letter postage to one cent** at the earliest possible moment.

## X.

### CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

We commend the spirit and evidence of **reform in the civil service**, and the wise and consistent enforcement by the Republican party of the laws relating to the same.

## XI.

### NICARAGUA CANAL.

The construction of the Nicaragua Canal is of the highest importance to the American people, both as a measure of national defense and to build up and maintain American commerce, and it should be **controlled** by the Government of the United States.

## XII.

### RIGHTS OF TERRITORIES.

We favor the admission of the remaining Territories **at the earliest possible moment**, having due regard to the interests of the people of the Territories and of the

United States. All the Federal officeholders appointed in the Territories should be selected from the residents thereof, and the **right of self-government** should be accorded as far as possible.

### XIII.

#### CESSION OF ARID LANDS.

We favor the cession, subject to the homestead laws, of the arid public lands to the States and Territories in which they lie, under such Congressional restrictions as to disposition, reclamation and occupancy by settlers as will secure the maximum benefits to the people.

### XIV.

#### AID FOR THE WORLD'S FAIR.

The World's Columbian Exposition is a **great national undertaking**, and Congress should promptly enact such reasonable legislation in aid thereof as will insure a discharge of the expense and obligations incident thereto, and the attainment of results commensurate with the dignity and progress of the nation.

### XV.

#### INTEMPERANCE.

We sympathize with all wise and legitimate efforts to lessen and prevent the evils of intemperance and promote morality.

### XVI.

#### THE JUST CLAIMS OF OLD SOLDIERS.

Ever mindful of the service and sacrifices of the men who saved the life of the nation, we pledge anew to the veteran soldiers of the Republic a watchful care and recognition of their just claims upon a grateful people.

### XVII.

#### HARRISON'S ADMINISTRATION.

We commend the able, patriotic and thoroughly American administration of President Harrison. Under it **the country has enjoyed remarkable prosperity**, and the dignity and honor of the nation at home and abroad have been faithfully maintained, and we offer the record of pledges kept as a guarantee of faithful performance in the future.

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# THE THREE PLATFORMS COMPARED.

## THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM.

Adopted at Minneapolis June 10, 1892.

THE REPUBLICANS SAY THAT THE COUNTRY IS PROSPEROUS.

The representatives of the Republicans of the United States, assembled in General Convention on the shores of the Mississippi River, the everlasting bond of an indestructible republic, whose most glorious chapter of history is the record of the Republican party, congratulate their countrymen on the majestic march of the nation under the banners inscribed with the principles of our platform of 1888, vindicated by victory at the polls and

## THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM.

Adopted at Chicago June 22, 1892.

THE DEMOCRATS SAY THAT THE ROOTS OF THE GOVERNMENT ARE STRUCK AT.

The representatives of the Democratic party of the United States, in National Convention assembled, do reaffirm their allegiance to the principles of the party as formulated by Jefferson, and exemplified by the long and illustrious line of his successors in Democratic leadership from Madison to Cleveland. We believe the public welfare demands that these principles be applied to the conduct of the Federal Government through the accession to

## THE PEOPLE'S PARTY PLATFORM.

Adopted at Omaha July 4, 1892.

THE PEOPLE'S PARTY SAY THAT EVERYTHING HAS GONE WRONG:

The conditions surrounding us best justify our co-operation; we meet in the midst of a nation brought to the verge of moral, political and material ruin. Corruption dominates the ballot box, the Legislatures, the Congress, and touches even the ermine of the bench. The people are demoralized; most of the States have been compelled to isolate the voters at the polling places to prevent universal intimidation or bribery. The newspapers are

prosperity in our fields, workshops and mines, and make the following declaration of principles:

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power of the party that advocates them ; and we solemnly declare that the need of a return to these fundamental principles of a free popular government, based on home rule and individual liberty, was never more urgent than now, when the tendency to centralize all power at the Federal Capitol has become a menace to the reserved rights of the States that strikes at the very roots of our Government under the Constitution as framed by the fathers of the Republic.

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largely subsidized, or muzzled ; public opinion silenced ; business prostrated ; our homes covered with mortgages ; labor impoverished, and the land concentrating in the hands of the capitalists. The urban workmen are denied the right of organization for self-protection ; imported pauperized labor beats down their wages ; a hireling standing army, unrecognized by our laws, is established to shoot them down, and they are rapidly degenerating into European conditions. The fruits of the toil of millions are boldly stolen to build up colossal fortunes for a few, unprecedented in the history of mankind ; and the possessors of these, in turn, despise the Republic and endanger liberty. From the same prolific womb of the governmental injustice we breed the two great classes—tramps and millionaires.

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## The Tariff.

THE REPUBLICANS DECLARE FOR PROTECTION AND SAY IT IS WORKING WELL.

We reaffirm the American doctrine of protection. We call attention to its growth abroad. We maintain that the prosperous condition of our country is largely due to the wise revenue legislation of the Republican Congress. We believe that all articles which cannot be produced in the United States, except luxuries, should be admitted free of duty, and that on all imports coming into competition with the products of American labor there should be duties levied equal to the difference between wages abroad and at home. We assert that the prices of manufactured articles of general consumption have been reduced under the operations of the Tariff Act of 1890. We denounce the efforts of the Democratic majority of the House to destroy our tariff laws by piecemeal, as manifested by their attacks on wool, lead, and lead ore, and we ask the people for their judgment thereon.

THE DEMOCRATS DECLARE FOR FREE TRADE AND SAY THAT PROTECTION IS UNCONSTITUTIONAL.

We denounce the Republican policy of protection as a fraud on the labor of the great majority of the American people for the benefit of the few. We declare it to be a fundamental principle of the Democratic party that the Federal Government has no constitutional power to impose and collect tariff duties except for the purposes of revenue only, and we demand that the collection of such taxes shall be limited to the necessities of the Government when honestly and economically administered.

We denounce the McKinley Tariff Law enacted by the Fifty-first Congress as the culminating atrocity of class legislation; we endorse the efforts made by the Democrats of the present Congress to modify its most oppressive features in the direction of free raw materials and cheaper manufactured goods that enter into general consumption; and we promise its repeal

THE POPULISTS PROPOSE TO RAISE THE REVENUES BY A GRADUATED INCOME TAX.

We believe that the moneys of the country should be kept as much as possible in the hands of the people, and hence we demand that all national and State revenues shall be limited to the necessary expenses, economically and honestly administered.

We oppose any subsidy or national aid to any private corporation for any purpose.

We demand a graduated income tax. The revenue derived from a graduated income tax should be applied to the reduction of the burden of taxation now resting upon the domestic industries of the country.

as one of the beneficent results that will follow the action of the people in intrusting power to the Democratic party. Since the McKinley tariff went into operation there have been ten reductions of the wages of laboring men to one increase. We deny that there has been any increase of prosperity to the country since that tariff went into operation, and we point to the dullness and distress, the wage reductions and strikes in the iron trade as the best possible evidence that no such prosperity has resulted from the McKinley Act. We call the attention of thoughtful Americans to the fact that, after thirty years of restrictive taxes against the importation of foreign wealth in exchange for our agricultural surplus, the homes and farms of the country have become burdened with a real-estate mortgage debt of over two thousand five hundred million dollars, exclusive of all other forms of indebtedness; that in one of the chief agricultural States of the West there appears a real-estate mortgage debt averaging \$165 *per capita* of the total population, and that similar conditions and tendencies

are shown to exist in the other agricultural exporting States. We denounce a policy which fosters no industry so much as it does that of the sheriff.

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NOTE. The above plank was not in the original platform as reported to the Democratic Convention by its Platform Committee. The plank, as reported, was as follows:

We reiterate the oft-repeated doctrines of the Democratic party that the necessity of the Government is the only justification for taxation, and whenever a tax is unnecessary it is unjustifiable; that, when custom-house taxation is levied upon articles of any kind produced in this country, the difference between the cost of labor here and labor abroad, when such a difference exists, fully measures any possible benefits to labor, and the enormous additional impositions of the existing tariff fall with crushing force upon our farmers and workingmen, and, for the mere advantage of the few whom it enriches, exact from labor a grossly unjust share of the expenses of the Government, and we de-

mand such a revision of the tariff laws as will remove their iniquitous inequalities, lighten their oppressions, and put them on a constitutional and equitable basis. But, in making reduction in taxes, it is not proposed to injure any domestic industries, but rather to promote their healthy growth. From the foundation of this Government, taxes collected at the Custom House have been the chief source of Federal revenue. Such they must continue to be. Moreover, many industries have come to rely upon legislation for successful continuance, so that any change of law must be at every step regardful of the labor and capital thus involved. The process of reform must be subject to the execution of this plain dictate of justice.

The plank thus reported, which was almost identical with that adopted in 1884, was rejected in the Convention by a vote of 546 to 342.

THE REPUBLICANS SAY THAT RECIPROCITY IS A PRACTICAL BUSINESS MEASURE.

We point to the success of the Republican policy of reciprocity, under which export trade has vastly increased, and new and enlarged markets have been opened for the products of our farms and workshops. We remind the people of the bitter opposition of the Democratic party to this practical business measure, and claim that, executed by a Republican Administration, our present laws will eventually give us control of the trade of the world.

## Reciprocity.

THE DEMOCRATS SAY IT IS A SHAM AND A JUGGLERY.

Trade interchange on the basis of reciprocal advantages to the countries participating is a time-honored doctrine of the Democratic faith, but we denounce the sham reciprocity which juggles with the people's desire for enlarged foreign markets and freer exchanges by pretending to establish closer trade relations for a country whose articles of export are almost exclusively agricultural products with other countries that are also agricultural, while erecting a custom-house barrier of prohibitive tariff taxes against the rich and the countries of the world that stand ready to take our entire surplus of products and to exchange therefor commodities which are necessities and comforts of life among our own people.

THE POPULISTS SAY NOTHING AT ALL.



## Federal Elections.

THE REPUBLICANS SAY THAT LAWS SHOULD BE PASSED TO SECURE EVERY CITIZEN THE RIGHT TO VOTE ONCE AND TO HAVE HIS ONE VOTE COUNTED.

The Republican party has always been the champion of the oppressed, and recognizes the dignity of manhood irrespective of faith, color or nationality.

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We denounce the continued inhuman outrages perpetrated on American citizens for political reasons in certain States of the Union.

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The ultimate reliance of free popular government is the intelligence of the people and the maintenance of freedom among men.

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We demand that every citizen of the United States shall be allowed to cast one

THE DEMOCRATS SAY THAT A NATIONAL ELECTION LAW LOOKS DIRECTLY TOWARDS THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A MONARCHY.

We warn the people of our common country, jealous for the preservation of their free institutions, that the policy of Federal control of elections, to which the Republican party has committed itself, is fraught with the gravest dangers, scarcely less momentous than would result from a revolution practically establishing monarchy on the ruins of the Republic. It strikes at the North as well as the South, and injures the colored citizen even more than the white; it means a horde of deputy marshals at every polling place, armed with Federal power; returning boards appointed and controlled by Federal authority; the outrage of the electoral rights of the people in the several States; the subjugation of the colored people to the control of the party in power and the reviving of race antagonisms, now happily abated, at the utmost peril to the safety and happiness

THE POPULISTS WANT STATE LAWS ADOPTING THE AUSTRALIAN BALLOT SYSTEM IN ITS PURITY.

We declare that this Republic can only endure as a free Government while built upon the love of the whole people for each other and for the nation; it cannot be pinned together by bayonets; that the Civil War is over, and that every passion and resentment which grew out of it must die with it, and that we must be in fact, as we are in name, the United Brotherhood of Freemen.

We demand a free ballot and a fair count in all elections, and pledge ourselves to secure it to every legal voter, without Federal intervention, through the adoption by the States of the unperturbed Australian or secret ballot system



free and unrestricted ballot in all public elections, and that such ballot shall be counted and returned as cast; that such laws shall be enacted and enforced as will secure to every citizen, be he rich or poor, native or foreign born, white or black, this sovereign right, guaranteed by the Constitution,—the free and honest popular ballot, the just and equal representation of all the people, as well as the just and equal protection under the laws as the foundation of our Republican institutions, and the party will never relax its efforts until the integrity of the ballot and the purity of elections shall be fully guaranteed and protected in every State.

of all,—a measure deliberately and justly described by a leading Republican Senator as “the most infamous bill that ever crossed the threshold of the Senate.” Such a policy, if sanctioned by law, would mean the dominance of a self-perpetuating oligarchy of officeholders, and the party first entrusted with its machinery could be dislodged from power only by an appeal to the reserved right of the people to resist oppression, which is inherent in all self-governing communities. Two years ago this revolutionary policy was emphatically condemned by the people at the polls; but, in contempt of that verdict, the Republican party has defiantly declared, in its latest authoritative utterance, that its success in the coming elections will mean the enactment of the Force Bill and the usurpation of despotic control over elections in all the States. Believing that the preservation of republican government in the United States is dependent upon the defeat of this policy of legalized force and fraud, we invite the support of all citizens who desire to see the Constitution maintained in its in-

tegrity with the laws pursuant thereto which have given our country a hundred years of unexampled prosperity; and we pledge the Democratic party, if it be entrusted with power, not only to the defeat of the Force Bill, but also to relentless opposition to the Republican policy of profligate expenditure, which, in the short space of two years, has squandered an enormous surplus and emptied an overflowing treasury, after piling new burdens of taxation upon the already overtaxed labor of the country.

## Currency and Banks.

THE REPUBLICANS FAVOR BIMETALLISM, DOLLARS OF EQUAL VALUE, AND COMMEND THE ADMINISTRATION'S PLAN FOR AN INTERNATIONAL SILVER CONFERENCE.

The American people, from tradition and interest, favor bimetallism, and the Republican party demands the use of both gold and silver as standard money, with

THE POPULISTS FAVOR FREE AND UNLIMITED COINAGE OF SILVER AND MORE CIRCULATION.

We demand a national currency, safe, sound and flexible, issued by the General Government only; a full legal tender for all debts, public and private, and that without the use of banking corporations;

THE DEMOCRATS FAVOR BIMETALLISM, DOLLARS OF EQUAL VALUE, BUT DEMAND THE REPEAL OF THE LAW TAXING THE ISSUES OF STATE BANKS.

We denounce the Republican legislation known as the Sherman Act of 1890 as a cowardly makeshift fraught with possibilities of danger in the future which

such restrictions and under such provisions, to be determined by legislation, as will secure the maintenance of the parity of values of the two metals, so that the purchasing and debt-paying power of the dollar, whether of silver, gold or paper, shall be at all times equal.

The interests of the producers of the country—its farmers and its workingmen—demand that every dollar, paper or coin, issued by the Government shall be as good as any other dollar. We commend the wise and patriotic steps already taken by our Government to secure such an international conference to adopt such measures as will insure a parity of value between gold and silver for use as money throughout the world.

should make ~~an~~ of its supporters, as well as its author, anxious for its speedy repeal. We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country and to the coinage of both gold and silver without discriminating against either metal or charge for mintage, but the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value, or be adjusted through international agreement, or by such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals, and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets and in the payment of debts; and we demand that all paper currency shall be kept at par with and redeemable in such coin. We insist upon this policy as especially necessary for the protection of the farmers and laboring classes, the first and most defenseless victims of unstable money and a fluctuating currency.

We recommend that the prohibitory 10 per cent. tax on State bank issues be repealed.

a just, equitable and efficient means of distribution direct to the people, at a tax not to exceed two per cent. per annum, to be provided as set forth in the sub-Treasury plan of the Farmers' Alliance, or some better system; also by payments in discharge of its obligations for public improvements.

We demand the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1.

We demand that the amount of the circulating medium be speedily increased to not less than \$50 *per capita*.

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NOTE.—A vote taken in the Committee on Resolutions on the substitution of the silver plank recommended by the Conference of Silver States for the plank adopted by the Sub-Committee on Platform resulted in the defeat of the silver States' substitute by a vote of 26 to 18. In the Convention Mr. Patterson of Colorado moved to substitute the silver plank, but this was lost without a roll-call.

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## Foreign Relations.

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THE REPUBLICANS FAVOR LARGER COMMERCE AND GREATER NAVAL FORCE, THE RESTORATION OF THE MERCHANT MARINE AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE NICARAGUA CANAL AND ITS CONTROL BY THE GOVERNMENT.

We favor the extension of our foreign commerce, the restoration of our mercantile marine by home-built ships, and the construction of a navy for the protection

THE DEMOCRATS SAY NOTHING ABOUT THE MERCHANT MARINE. THEY FAVOR A NAVY, BUT WITHOUT RECOMMENDING ITS FURTHER IMPROVEMENT. THEY RECOGNIZE IN THE CANAL A GOOD THING AND CALL FOR ITS PROTECTION AGAINST FOREIGN CONTROL.

The Democratic party is the only party that has ever given the country a foreign policy consistent and vigorous, compelling respect abroad and inspiring confidence at

THE POPULISTS DO NOT REFER TO ANY OF THESE MATTERS.

of our national interests and the honor of our flag; the maintenance of the most friendly relations with foreign powers, entangling alliances with none, and the protection of the rights of our fishermen.

We reaffirm our approval of the Monroe doctrine, and believe in the achievement of the manifest destiny of the Republic in its broadest sense.

The construction of the Nicaragua Canal is of the highest importance to the American people, both as a measure of national defense and to build up and maintain American commerce, and it should be controlled by the Government of the United States.

home. While avoiding entangling alliances, it has aimed to cultivate friendly relations with other nations and especially with our neighbors on the American continent whose destiny is closely linked with our own; and we view with alarm the tendency to a policy of irritation and bluster which is liable at any time to confront us with the alternative of humiliation or war.

We favor the maintenance of a navy strong enough for all purposes of national defense, and to properly maintain the honor and dignity of the country abroad.

For purposes of national defense and the promotion of commerce between the States we recognize the early construction of the Nicaragua Canal and its protection against foreign control as of great importance to the United States.



THE REPUBLICANS OPPOSE TRUSTS AND DEMAND MORE LAWS AGAINST THEM.

We reaffirm our opposition, declared in the Republican platform of 1888, to all combinations of capital organized to control arbitrarily the condition of trade among our citizens. We heartily endorse the action taken on this issue, and ask for such further legislation as may be required to remedy any defects in existing laws, and to render their enforcement more complete and effective.

## Trusts.

THE DEMOCRATS SAY THAT TRUSTS ARE DUE TO THE TARIFF, BUT MAY BE ABATED BY LAW, AND DEMAND SUCH LAWS AS WILL HAVE THAT EFFECT.

We recognize in the trusts and combinations, which are designed to enable capital to secure more than its just share of the joint product of capital and labor, a natural consequence of the prohibitive taxes which prevent the free competition which is the life of honest trade, but we believe their worst evils can be abated by law, and we demand the rigid enforcement of the laws made to prevent and control them, together with such further legislation in restraint of their abuses as experience may show to be necessary.

THE POPULISTS SAY NOTHING ABOUT TRUSTS EXCEPT TO MENTION THEM IN THEIR PREAMBLE AS ONE OF THE DREADFUL CURSES WHICH ARE FAST CARRYING THE LAND TO UTTER RUIN.

## Laboring Interests.

THE REPUBLICANS ADVOCATE LABOR REFORMS AND THE RESTRICTION OF IMMIGRATION.

We favor efficient legislation by Congress to protect the life and limbs of employees of the railroad companies engaged in carrying interstate commerce, and recommend legislation by the respective States that will protect employees engaged in interstate commerce and in mining and manufacturing.

We favor the enactment of more stringent laws and regulations for the restriction of criminal, pauper and contract immigration.

THE DEMOCRATS FAVOR LABOR REFORMS AND THE RESTRICTION OF IMMIGRATION.

We favor legislation by Congress and State Legislatures to protect the lives and limbs of railway employees and those of other hazardous transportation companies, and denounce the inactivity of the Republican party, and particularly the Republican Senate, for causing the defeat of measures beneficial and protective to this class of wage-workers.

We are in favor of the enactment by the States of laws for abolishing the notorious sweating system, for abolishing contract convict labor, and for prohibiting the employment in factories of children under fifteen years of age.

We heartily approve all legitimate efforts to prevent the United States from being used as the dumping-ground for the known criminals and professional paupers of Europe, and we demand the rigid enforcement of the laws against

THE POPULISTS CLAIM TO BE THE ONLY GENUINE LABOR PARTY, AND FAVOR POSTAL SAVINGS BANKS AND GOVERNMENT CONTROL OF TRANSPORTATION, TELEGRAPH AND TELEPHONE; FAVOR AN EIGHT-HOUR LAW; OPPOSE CONTRACT LABOR AND UNRESTRICTED IMMIGRATION, AND DENOUNCE THE PINKERTONS.

We demand that postal savings banks be established by the Government for the safe deposit of the earnings of the people and to facilitate exchange.

Transportation being a means of exchange and a public necessity, the Government should own and operate the railroads in the interest of the people.

The telegraph and telephone, like the post-office system, being a necessity for the transmission of news, should be owned and operated by the Government in the interests of the people.

We cordially sympathize with the efforts of organized workingmen to shorten the hours of labor, and demand a rigid

Chinese immigration or the importation of foreign workmen under contract to degrade American labor and lessen its wages, but we condemn and denounce any and all attempts to restrict the immigration of the industrious and worthy of foreign lands.

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enforcement of the existing eight-hour law on government work, and ask that a penalty clause be added to the said law.

That we condemn the fallacy of protecting American labor under the present system, which opens our ports to the pauper and criminal classes of the world, and crowds out our wage-earners; and we denounce the present ineffective laws against contract labor, and demand the further restriction of undesirable immigration.

We believe that the time has come when the railroad corporations will either own the people or the people must own the railroads; and, should the Government enter upon the work of owning and managing any and all railroads, we should favor an amendment to the Constitution by which all persons engaged in the Government service shall be placed under a civil-service regulation of the most rigid character, so as to prevent the increase of the power of the National Administration by the use of such additional government employees.

That we regard the maintenance of a

large standing army of mercenaries, known as the Pinkerton system, as a menace to our liberties, and we demand its abolition; and we condemn the recent invasion of the Territory of Wyoming by the hired assassins of plutocracy, assisted by Federal officials.

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## Public Lands.

THE REPUBLICANS FAVOR TURNING OVER ARID LANDS TO THE STATES AND TERRITORIES.

We favor the cession, subject to the homestead laws, of the arid public lands to the States and Territories in which they lie, under such Congressional restrictions, as to disposition, reclamation and occupancy by settlers, as will secure the maximum benefits to the people.

THE DEMOCRATS STAND BY THE POLICY OF ANDREW JACKSON SPARKS.

The Republican party, while professing a policy of reserving the public land for small holdings by actual settlers, has given away the people's heritage till now a few railroad companies and non-resident aliens, individual and corporate, possess a larger area than that of all our farms between the two seas. The last Democratic Administration reversed the improvident and unwise policy of the Republican party touching the public domain, and reclaimed from corporations and syndicates, alien and domestic, and restored to the people

THE POPULISTS MAKE SUNDRY RECOMMENDATIONS.

The land, including all the natural sources of wealth, is the heritage of all the people, and should not be monopolized for speculative purposes, and alien ownership of land should be prohibited. All lands now held by railroads and other corporations in excess of their actual needs, and all lands now owned by aliens, should be reclaimed by the Government and held for actual settlers only.

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nearly one hundred million acres of valuable land to be sacredly held as homesteads for our citizens, and we pledge ourselves to continue this policy until every acre of land so unlawfully held shall be reclaimed and restored to the people.

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## Education.

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We declare anew our devotion to liberty of thought and conscience, of speech and press, and approve all agencies and instrumentalities which contribute to the education of the children of the land; but, while insisting upon the fullest measure of religious liberty, we are opposed to any union of Church and State.

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Popular education being the only safe basis of popular suffrage, we recommend to the several States most liberal appropriations for the public schools. Free common schools are the nursery of good government, and they have always received the fostering care of the Democratic party, which favors every means of increasing intelligence. Freedom of education, being an essential of civil and religious liberty as well as a necessity for the development of intelligence, must not be interfered with under any pretext whatever. We are opposed to State interference with parental rights and rights of conscience in the education of children as an infringement of the fundamental Democratic doc-

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trine that the largest individual liberty consistent with the rights of others insures the highest type of American citizenship and the best government.

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## The World's Fair.

The World's Columbian Exposition is a great national undertaking, and Congress should promptly enact such reasonable legislation in aid thereof as will insure a discharge of the expense and obligations incident thereto, and the attainment of results commensurate with the dignity and progress of the nation.

Recognizing the World's Columbian Exposition as a national undertaking of vast importance in which the General Government has invited the co-operation of all the powers of the world, and appreciating the acceptance by many of such powers of the invitation so extended, and the broadest liberal efforts being made by them to contribute to the grandeur of the undertaking, we are of the opinion that Congress should make such necessary financial provision as shall be requisite to the maintenance of the national honor and public faith.

We commend the spirit and evidence of reform in the civil service and the wise and consistent enforcement by the Republican party of the laws relating to the same.

## Civil Service Reform.

Public office is a public trust. We reaffirm the declaration of the Democratic National Convention of 1876 for the reform of the civil service, and we call for the honest enforcement of all laws regulating the same. The nomination of a President, as in the recent Republican Convention, by delegations composed largely of his appointees holding office at his pleasure, is a scandalous satire upon free popular institutions and a startling illustration of the methods by which a President may gratify his ambition. We denounce a policy under which Federal officeholders usurp control of party conventions in the States, and we pledge the Democratic party to the reform of these and all other abuses which threaten individual liberty and local self-government.

We should favor an amendment to the Constitution, by which all persons engaged in the Government service shall be placed under a civil-service regulation of the most rigid character.

## Admission of Territories.

We favor the admission of the remaining Territories at the earliest possible moment, having due regard to the interests of the people of the Territories and of the United States. All the Federal officeholders appointed in the Territories should be selected from the residents thereof, and the right of self-government should be accorded as far as possible.

We approve the action of the present House of Representatives in passing bills for the admission into the Union as States of the Territories of New Mexico and Arizona, and we favor the early admission of all the Territories having necessary population and resources to admit them to Statehood, and while they remain Territories we hold that the officials appointed to administer the Government of any Territory, together with the Districts of Columbia and Alaska, should be *bonafide* residents of the Territory or district in which their duties are to be performed. The Democratic party believes in home rule and the control of their own affairs by the people of the vicinage.

## Home

The Republican party has always been the champion of the oppressed, and recognizes the dignity of manhood irrespective of faith, color or nationality. It sympathizes with the cause of home rule in Ireland, and protests against the persecution of the Jews in Russia. The ultimate reliance of free popular government is the intelligence of the people, and the maintenance of freedom among men.

We sympathize with all wise and legitimate efforts to lessen and prevent the evils of intemperance and promote morality.

## Rule and the Russian Jews.

This country has always been the refuge of the oppressed from every land—exiles for conscience sake--and in the spirit of the founders of our Government we condemn the oppression practiced by the Russian Government upon its Lutheran and Jewish subjects, and we call upon our National Government, in the interest of justice and humanity, by all just and proper means, to use its prompt and best efforts to bring about a cessation of these cruel persecutions in the dominions of the Czar, and to secure to the oppressed equal rights. We tender our profound and earnest sympathy to those lovers of freedom who are struggling for home rule and the great cause of local self-government in Ireland.

## Temperance.

We are opposed to all sumptuary laws as an interference with the individual rights of the citizen.

Ever mindful of the services and sacrifices of the men who saved the life of the nation, we pledge anew to the veteran soldiers of the Republic a watchful care and recognition of their just claims upon a grateful people.

## Pensions.

This Convention hereby renews the expression of appreciation of the patriotism of the soldiers and sailors of the Union in the war for its preservation, and we favor just and liberal pensions for all disabled Union soldiers, their widows and dependents, but we demand that the work of the Pension Office shall be done industriously, impartially and honestly. We denounce the present administration of that office as incompetent, corrupt, disgraceful and dishonest.

We pledge our support to fair and liberal pensions to ex-Union soldiers and sailors.

We approve the policy of extending to towns and rural communities the advantages of the free delivery service now enjoyed by the large cities of the country, and reaffirm the declaration contained in the Republican platform of 1888, pledging the reduction of letter postage to one cent at the earliest possible moment.

## Postal Reforms.



## Rivers and Harbors.

The Federal Government should care for and improve the Mississippi River and other great waterways of the Republic, so as to secure for the interior States easy and cheap transportation to the tide-water. When any waterway of the Republic is of sufficient importance to demand the aid of the Government, such aid should be extended to a definite plan of continuous work until permanent improvement is secured.

## The Administration.

We commend the able, patriotic and thoroughly American Administration of President Harrison. Under it the country has enjoyed remarkable prosperity, and the dignity and honor of the nation at home and abroad have been faithfully maintained, and we offer the record of pledges kept as a guarantee of faithful performance in the future.

We have witnessed for more than a quarter of a century the struggles of the two great political parties for power and plunder, while grievous wrongs have been inflicted upon the suffering poor. We charge that the controlling influences dominating both these parties have permitted the existing dreadful conditions to develop without serious effort to prevent or restrain them. Neither do they now

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promise us any substantial reform. They have agreed together to ignore, in the coming campaign, every issue but one. They propose to drown the outcries of a plundered people with the uproar of a sham battle over the tariff, so that capitalists, corporations, national banks, rings, trusts, watered stock, the demonetization of silver and the oppressions of the usurers may be all lost sight of. They propose to sacrifice our homes, lives and children on the altar of Mammon; to destroy the multitude in order to secure corruption funds from the millionaires.

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# THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER.

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All the Issues Clearly Discussed.

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PROTECTION AND ITS UNDENIABLE RESULTS.

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More and Larger Markets.

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AMERICAN SHIPS FOR AMERICAN FREIGHT.

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The Democratic Scheme for Wild-Cat Money Issues.

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THE PROFITS OF RECIPROCITY.

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WASHINGTON, September 3, 1892.

HON. WILLIAM MCKINLEY, JR., AND OTHERS, COMMITTEE,  
ETC.:

GENTLEMEN—I now avail myself of the first period of relief from public duties to respond to the notification which you brought to me on June 20 of my nomination for the office of President of the United States by the Republican National Convention recently held at Minneapolis. I accept the nomination and am grateful for the approval expressed by the Convention of the acts of the Administration. I have endeavored without wavering or weariness, so far as the direction of public affairs was committed to me, to carry out the pledges made to the people in 1888. If the policies of the Administration have not been distinctively and progressively American and Republican policies, the fault has not been in the purpose but in the execution. I shall speak frankly of the legislation of Congress and of the work of the executive departments, for the credit of any successes that have been attained is in such measure due to others, Senators and Representatives, and to the efficient heads of the several executive departments, that I may do so without impropriety. A vote of want of confidence is asked by our adversaries; and this challenge to a review of what has been done we promptly and gladly accept.

## SERIOUS RESULTS OF A CHANGE.

The great work of the Fifty-first Congress has been subjected to the revision of a Democratic House of Representatives, and the acts of the Executive Department to its scrutiny and investigation. A Democratic National Administration was succeeded by a Republican Administration, and the freshness of the events gives unusual facilities for fair comparison and judgment. There has seldom been a time, I think, when a change from the declared policies of the Republican to the declared policies of the Democratic Party involved such serious results to the business interests of the country. A brief review of

what has been done and of what the Democratic Party proposes to undo will justify this opinion.

#### DEMOCRATIC MENACE OF BAD MONEY.

The Republican Party during the Civil War devised a national currency, consisting of United States notes, issued and redeemable by the Government, and of national bank notes, based upon the security of United States bonds. A tax was levied upon the issues of State banks, and the intended result, that all such issues should be withdrawn, was realized. There are men among us now who never saw a State bank note. The notes furnished directly or indirectly by the United States have been the only and the safe and acceptable paper currency of the people. Bank failures have brought no fright, delay or loss to the bill-holders. The note of an insolvent bank is as good and as current as a Treasury note—for the credit of the United States is behind it. Our money is all national money—I might almost say international, for these bills are not only equally and indiscriminately accepted at par in all the States, but in some foreign countries. The Democratic party, if intrusted with the control of the Government, is now pledged to repeal the tax on State bank issues, with a view to putting into circulation again, under such diverse legislation as the States may adopt, a flood of local bank issues.

#### SAFE CURRENCY NOT TO BE ABANDONED.

Only those who in the years before the War experienced the inconvenience and losses attendant upon the use of such money can appreciate what a return to that system involves. The denomination of a bill was then often no indication of its value. The bank detector of yesterday was not a safe guide to-day as to credit or values. Merchants deposited several times during the day lest the hour of bank closing should show a depreciation of the money taken in the morning. The traveler could not use in a journey to the East the issues of the most solvent banks of the West, and in consequence a money-changer's office was the familiar neighbor of the ticket office and the lunch counter. The farmer and the laborer found the money received for their products or their labor depreciated when they came to make their purchases, and the whole business of the country was hindered and burdened. Changes may become necessary, but a national system of currency, safe and acceptable throughout the whole country, is the good fruit of bitter experience, and I am sure our people will not consent to the reactionary proposal made by the Democratic Party.

#### OUR MERCHANT MARINE.

Few subjects have elicited more discussion or excited more general interest than that of a recovery by the United States of its appropriate share of the ocean-carrying trade. This subject touches, not only our pockets, but our national pride. Practically all the freights for transporting to Europe the enormous annual supplies of provisions furnished by this country, and for the large return of manufactured products, have for many years been paid to foreign shipowners. Thousands of immigrants annually seeking homes under our flag have been denied

the sight of it until they entered Sandy Hook, while increasing thousands of American citizens, bent on European travel, have each year stepped into a foreign jurisdiction at the New York docks.

#### FOREIGN SHIPPING SUSTAINED BY SUBSIDY.

The merchandise balance of trade which the Treasury books show is largely reduced by the annual tribute which we pay for freight and passage moneys. The great ships—the fastest upon the sea—which are now in peace profiting by our trade, are in secondary sense war ships of their respective governments, and in time of war would, under existing contracts with those governments, speedily take on the guns for which their decks are already prepared, and enter with terrible efficiency upon the work of destroying our commerce. The undisputed fact is that the great steamship lines of Europe were built up, and are now in part sustained, by direct or indirect government aid, the latter taking the form of liberal pay for carrying the mails, or of an annual bonus given in consideration of agreements to construct the ships so as to adapt them for carrying an armament, and to turn them over to the Government on demand, upon specified terms.

#### GREAT AMERICAN VESSELS BUILDING.

It was plain to every intelligent American that, if the United States would have such lines, a similar policy must be entered upon. The Fifty-first Congress enacted such a law, and under its beneficent influence sixteen American steamships, of an aggregate tonnage of 57,400 tons and costing \$7,400,000, have been built or contracted to be built in American shipyards. In addition to this, it is now practically certain that we shall soon have, under the American flag, one of the finest steamship lines sailing out of New York for any European port. This contract will result in the construction in American yards of four new passenger steamships of 10,000 tons each, costing about \$8,000,000, and will add to our naval reserve six steamships, the fastest upon the sea.

#### DEMOCRATS HOSTILE TO SHIPPING.

A special interest has been taken by me in the establishment of lines from our South Atlantic and Gulf ports; and, though my expectations have not yet been realized, attention has been called to the advantages possessed by these reports; and, when their people are more fully alive to their interests, I do not doubt that they will be able to secure the capital needed to enable them to profit by their great natural advantages. The Democratic party has found no place in its platform for any reference to this subject, and has shown its hostility to the general policy by refusing to expend an appropriation made during the last Administration for ocean mail contracts with American lines. The patriotic people, the workmen in our shops, the capitalists seeking new enterprises, must decide whether the great ships owned by Americans, which have sought American registry, shall again humbly ask a place in the English Naval Reserve; the great ships now



on the designers' tables go to foreign shops for construction, and the United States loses the now-brightening opportunity of recovering a place commensurate with its wealth, the skill of its constructors and the courage of its sailors, in the carrying trade of all the seas.

#### RECIPROCITY.

Another related measure, as furnishing an increased ocean traffic for our ships, and of great and permanent benefit to the farmers and manufacturers as well, is the reciprocity policy declared by Section 3 of the Tariff act of 1890, and now in practical operation with five of the nations of Central and South America, San Domingo, the Spanish and British West India islands, and with Germany and Austria, under special trade arrangements with each. The removal of the duty on sugar and the continuance of coffee and tea upon the free list, while giving great relief to our own people by cheapening articles used increasingly in every household, was also of such enormous advantage to the countries exporting these articles as to suggest that in consideration thereof, reciprocal favors should be shown in their tariffs to articles exported by us to their markets.

#### MR. BLAINE'S GREAT WORK.

Great credit is due to Mr. Blaine for the vigor with which he pressed this view upon the country. We have only begun to realize the benefit of these trade arrangements. The work of creating new agencies and of adapting our goods to new markets has necessarily taken time; but the results already attained are such, I am sure, as to establish in popular favor the policy of reciprocal trade, based upon the free importation of such articles as do not injuriously compete with the products of our own farms, mines or factories, in exchange for the free or favored introduction of our products into other countries. The obvious efficacy of this policy in increasing the foreign trade of the United States at once attracted the alarmed attention of European trade journals and boards of trade. The British Board of Trade has presented to that Government a memorial asking for the appointment of a commission to consider the best means of counteracting what is called "the commercial crusade of the United States."

#### HOW FOREIGN NATIONS TAKE IT.

At a meeting held in March last of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of Great Britain, the president reported that the exports from Great Britain to the Latin American countries during the last year had decreased \$23,750,000, and that this was not due to temporary causes, but directly to the reciprocity policy of the United States. Germany and France have also shown their startled appreciation of the fact that a new and vigorous contestant has appeared in the battle of the markets, and has already secured important advantages. The most convincing evidence of the tremendous commercial strength of our position is found in the fact that Great Britain and Spain have found it necessary to make reciprocal trade

agreements with us for their West India colonies, and that Germany and Austria have given us important concessions in exchange for the continued free importation of their best sugar.

#### HOW THE NEW POLICY RESULTS.

A few details only as to the increase of our trade can be given here. Taking all the countries with which arrangements have been made, our trade to June 30, 1892, had increased 23.78 per cent.; with Brazil the increase was nearly 11 per cent.; with Cuba, during the first ten months, our exports increased \$5,702,193. or 54.86, and with Porto Rico, \$590,599, or 34 per cent. The liberal participation of our farmers in the benefits of this policy is shown by the following report from our Consul-General at Havana under date of July 26 last:

"During the first half year of 1891 Havana received 140,056 bags of flour from Spain, and other ports of the island about an equal amount, or approximately 280,112 bags. During the same period Havana received 13,976 bags of American flour, and other ports approximately an equal amount, making about 28,000 bags.

"But for the first half of this year Spain has sent less than 1,000 bags to the whole island, and the United States has sent to Havana alone 168,487 bags, and about an equal amount to other ports of the island, making approximately 337,000 for the first half of 1892."

#### INCREASED SHIPMENTS OF PORK.

Partly by reason of the reciprocal trade agreement, but more largely by reason of the removal of the sanitary restrictions upon American pork, our export of pork products to Germany increased during the ten months ending June 30 last \$2,025,074, or about 32 per cent.

#### THEY DREAD AMERICAN COMPETITION.

"The British Trade Journal," of London, in a recent issue, speaking of the increase of American coal exports and of the falling off of the English coal exports to Cuba, says:

"It is another case of American competition. The United States now supplies Cuba with about 150,000 tons of coal annually, and there is every prospect of this trade increasing as the forests of the island become exhausted and the use of steam machinery on the sugar estates is developed. Alabama coal especially is securing a reputation in the Spanish West Indies, and the river and rail improvements of the Southern States will undoubtedly create an important Gulf trade. The new reciprocity policy by which the United States is enabled to import Cuban sugar will, of course, assist the American coal exporters even more effectively than the new lines of railway."

#### SHALL SUGAR BE TAXED AGAIN.

The Democratic platform promises a repeal of the Tariff law containing this provision, and especially denounces as a sham reciprocity that section of the law under which

these trade arrangements have been made. If no other issue were involved in the campaign, this alone would give it momentous importance. Are the farmers of the great grain-growing States willing to surrender these new, large and increasing markets for their surplus? Are we to have nothing in exchange for the free importation of sugar and coffee, and at the same time to destroy the sugar-planters of the South and the beet-sugar industry of the Northwest and of the Pacific Coast? Or are we to have the taxed sugar and coffee, which a "tariff for revenue only" necessarily involves, with the added loss of the new markets which have been opened?

#### WHAT THEY SEE WE CAN SEE TOO.

As I have shown, our commercial rivals in Europe do not regard this Reciprocity policy as a "sham," but as a serious threat to a trade supremacy they have long enjoyed. They would rejoice, and, if prudence did not restrain, would illuminate their depressed manufacturing cities, over the news that the United States had abandoned its system of Protection and Reciprocity. They see very clearly that restriction of American products and trade, and a corresponding increase of European production and trade, would follow, and I will not believe that what is so plain to them can be hidden from our own people.

#### A DARING DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP.

The declaration of the platform in favor of "the American doctrine of Protection" meets my most hearty approval. The Convention did not adopt a schedule, but a principle that is to control all tariff schedules. There may be differences of opinion among Protectionists as to the rate upon particular articles necessary to effect an equalization between wages abroad and at home. In some not remote National campaigns the issue has been—or, more correctly, has been made to appear to be—between a high and a low protective tariff, both parties expressing some solicitous regard for the wages of our working people and for the prosperity of our domestic industries. But, under a more courageous leadership, the Democratic party has now practically declared that, if given power, it will enact a tariff law without any regard to its effect upon wages or upon the capital invested in our great industries.

#### THE REJECTED DEMOCRATIC PLANK.

The majority report of the Committee on Platform to the Democratic National Convention at Chicago contained this clause: "That when Custom House taxation is levied upon articles of any kind produced in this country, the difference between the cost of labor here and labor abroad, when such a difference exists, fully measures any possible benefits to labor, and the enormous additional impositions of the existing tariff fall with crushing force upon our farmers and workingmen."

### A CLEAR ADMISSION.

Here we have a distinct admission of the Republican contention that American workmen are advantaged by a tariff rate equal to the difference between home and foreign wages, and a declaration only against the alleged "additional impositions" of the existing tariff law.

### ANOTHER ADMISSION.

Again, this majority report further declared: "But in making a reduction in taxes, it is not proposed to injure any domestic industries, but rather to promote their healthy growth. Moreover, many industries have come to rely upon legislation for successful continuance, so that any change of law must be at every step regardful of the labor and the capital thus involved."

### THE TARIFF DOES PROTECT.

Here we have an admission that many of our industries depend upon protective duties "for their successful continuance," and a declaration that tariff changes should be regardful of the workmen in such industries and of the invested capital.

### FORMER ADMISSIONS NOW DENIED.

The overwhelming rejection of these propositions, which had before received the sanction of Democratic National Conventions, was not more indicative of the new and more courageous leadership to which the party has now committed itself than the substitute which was adopted. This substitute declares that Protective duties are unconstitutional—high Protection, low Protection, all unconstitutional. A Democratic Congress holding this view cannot enact, nor a Democratic President approve, any tariff schedule, the purpose or effect of which is to limit importations or to give any advantage to an American workman or producer. A bounty might, I judge, be given to the importer under this view of the Constitution, in order to increase importations, and so the revenue for "revenue only" is the limitation. Reciprocity, of course, falls under this denunciation, for its object and effect are not revenue, but the promotion of commercial exchanges, the profits of which go wholly to our producers.

### A MAD CRUSADE AGAINST INDUSTRY.

This destructive, un-American doctrine was not held or taught by the historic Democratic statesmen whose fame as American patriots has reached this generation—certainly not by Jefferson or Jackson. This mad crusade against American shops, the bitter epithets applied to American manufacturers, the persistent disbelief of every report of the opening of a tin-plate mill or of an increase of our foreign trade by Reciprocity, are as surprising as they are discreditable.



## WHAT THE DEMOCRATIC PLAN WOULD DO.

There is not a thoughtful business man in the country who does not know that the enactment into law of the declaration of the Chicago Convention on the subject of the Tariff would at once plunge the country into a business convulsion such as it has never seen; and there is not a thoughtful workingman who does not know that it would at once enormously reduce the amount of work to be done in this country by the increase of importations that would follow, and necessitate a reduction of his wages to the European standard.

### EITHER DANGEROUS OR INSINCERE.

If any one suggests that this radical policy will not be executed if the Democratic party attains power, what shall be thought of a party that is capable of thus trifling with great interests? The threat of such legislation would be only less hurtful than the fact. A distinguished Democrat rightly described this movement as a challenge to the protected industries to a fight of extermination, and another such rightly expressed the logic of the situation when he interpreted the Chicago platform to be an invitation to all Democrats holding even the most moderate protection views, to go into the Republican party.

### UNCONTRADICTED FACTS.

And now a few words in regard to the existing Tariff Law. We are fortunately able to judge of its influence upon production and prices by the market reports. The day of the prophet of calamity has been succeeded by that of the trade reporter. An examination into the effect of the law upon the prices of protected products and of the cost of such articles as enter into the living of people of small means has been made by a Senate Committee, composed of leading Senators of both parties, with the aid of the best statisticians, and the report, signed by all the members of the committee, has been given to the public. No such wide and careful inquiry has ever before been made. These facts appear from the report:

FIRST. The cost of articles entering into the use of those earning less than \$1,000 per annum has decreased up to May, 1892, 3.4 per cent., while in farm products there has been an increase in prices, owing in part to an increased foreign demand and the opening of new markets. In England during the same period the cost of living increased 1.9 per cent. Tested by their power to purchase articles of necessity, the earnings of our working people have never been as great as they are now.

SECOND. There has been an average advance in the rate of wages of .75 of 1 per cent.

THIRD. There has been an advance in the price of all farm products of 18.67 per cent, and of all cereals 33.59 per cent.

### COMMISSIONER PECK'S STATISTICS.

The ninth annual report of the Chief of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the State of New York, a Democratic officer, very recently issued, strongly corroborates as to



that State the facts found by the Senate Committee. His extended inquiry shows that in the year immediately following the passage of the Tariff Act of 1890 the aggregate sum paid in wages in that State was \$6,377,925 in excess, and the aggregate production \$31,315,130 in excess of the preceding year.

In view of this showing of an increase in wages, of a reduction in the cost of articles of common necessity, and of a marked advance in the prices of agricultural products, it is plain that this Tariff law has not imposed burdens, but has conferred benefits upon the farmer and the workingman.

#### THE REPUBLICAN TIN PLATE VICTORY.

Some special effects of the act should be noticed. It was a courageous attempt to rid our people of a long-maintained foreign monopoly in the production of tin-plate, pearl buttons, silk plush, linens, lace, etc. Once or twice in our history the production of tin-plate had been attempted, and the prices obtained by the Welsh makers would have enabled our makers to produce it at a profit. But the Welsh makers at once cut prices to a point that drove the American beginners out of the business, and, when this was accomplished, again made their own prices. A correspondent of the "Industrial World," the official organ of the Welsh tin-plate workers, published at Swansea, in the issue of June 10, 1892, advises a new trial of these methods. He says :

"Do not be deceived. The victory of the Republicans at the polls means the retention of the McKinley bill, and means the rapidly accruing loss of the 80 per cent. of the export American trade. Had there been no Democratic victory in 1890, the spread of the tin-plate manufacture in the United States would have been both rapid and *bona fide*. It is not yet too late to do something to reduce the price of plates. Put them down to 11s. per box of 100, 14 by 20, full weight basis. Let the workmen take half-pay for a few months and turn out more. Then let the masters forego profits for the same time."

And again that paper says : "It is clearly the interest of both (employer and workmen) to produce tin plates, tariff or no tariff, at a price that will drive all competitors from the field."

But, in spite of the doubts raised by the elections of 1890, and of the machinations of foreign producers to maintain their monopoly, the tin-plate industry has been established in the United States, and the alliance between the Welsh producers and the Democratic party for its destruction will not succeed.

#### AMERICAN TIN PLATE PRODUCTION.

The official returns to the Treasury Department of the production of tin and terne plates in the United States during the last fiscal year show a total production of 13,240,830 pounds, and a comparison of the first quarter, 826,922 pounds, with the last, 8,000,000 pounds, shows the rapid development of the industry. Over 5,000,000 pounds during the last quarter were made from American black plates, the remainder from foreign plates. Mr. Ayer, the

Treasury agent in charge, estimates, as the result of careful inquiry, that the production of the current year will be 100,000,000 pounds, and that by the end of the year our production will be at the rate of 200,000,000 pounds per annum.

#### INDUSTRIES EVERYWHERE FLOURISHING.

Another industry that has been practically created by the McKinley bill is the making of pearl buttons. Few articles coming to us from abroad were so distinctly the product of starvation wages.

But, without unduly extending this letter, I cannot follow in detail the influences of the Tariff law of 1890. It has transplanted several important industries, and establish them here, and has revived or enlarged all others. The act gives to the miners protection against foreign silver bearing lead ores, the free introduction of which threatened the great mining industries of the Rocky Mountain States; and to the wool growers protection for their fleeces and flocks, which have saved them from a further and disastrous decline. The House of Representatives, at its last session, passed bills placing these ores and wool upon the free list. The people of the West will know how destructive to their prosperity these measures would be. This Tariff law has given employment to many thousands of American men and women, and will each year give employment to increasing thousands. Its repeal would throw thousands out of employment and give work to others only at reduced wages.

#### STRANGE APPEALS TO LABOR.

The appeals of the Free Trader to the workingman are largely addressed to his prejudices or to his passions, and not infrequently are pronouncedly communistic. The new Democratic leadership rages at the employer, and seeks to communicate his rage to the employee. I greatly regret that all employers of labor are not just and considerate, and that capital sometimes takes too large a share of the profits. But I do not see that these evils will be ameliorated by a tariff policy, the first necessary effect of which is a severe wage cut, and the second a large diminution of the aggregate amount of work to be done in this country. If the injustice of his employer tempts the workman to strike back, he should be very sure that his blow does not fall upon his own head or upon his wife and children.

#### PROTECTION THE ONLY BARRIER.

The workmen in our great industries are as a body remarkably intelligent, and are lovers of home and country. They may be roused by injustice, or what seems to them to be such, or be led for the moment by others into acts of passion; but they will settle the tariff contest in the calm light of their November firesides, and with sole reference to the prosperity of the country of which they are citizens and of the homes they have founded for their wives and children. No intelligent advocate of a protective tariff claims that it is able of itself to maintain a uni-

form rate of wages without regard to fluctuations in the supply of and demand for the products of labor. But it is confidently claimed that protective duties strongly tend to hold up wages, and are the only barrier against a reduction to the European scale.

#### PROTECTION FOR THE SOUTH.

The Southern States have had a liberal participation in the benefits of the Tariff law, and, though their representatives have generally opposed the Protection policy, I rejoice that their sugar, rice, coal, ores, iron, fruits, cotton cloths and other products have not been left to the fate which the votes of their representatives would have brought upon them. In the construction of the Nicaragua Canal, in the new trade with South and Central America, in the establishment of American steamship lines, these States have also special interests, and all these interests will not always consent to be without representation at Washington.

#### TAXATION LARGELY REDUCED.

Shrewdly, but not quite fairly, our adversaries speak only of the increased duties imposed upon tin, pearl buttons and other articles, by the McKinley bill, and omit altogether any reference to the great and beneficial enlargement of the free list. During the last fiscal year \$458,000,772 worth of merchandise, or 55.35 per cent. of our total importations, came in free (the largest percentage in our history), while in 1889 the per cent. of free importations was only 34.43 per cent. The placing of sugar upon the free list has saved to the consumer in duties in fifteen months, after paying the bounties provided for, \$87,000,000. This relief has been substantially felt in every household upon every Saturday's purchase of the workingman.

#### WE SAVE OUR OWN MARKET AND GAIN MANY OTHERS.

One of the favorite arguments against a Protective tariff is that it shuts us out from a participation in what is called, with swelling emphasis, "the markets of the world." If this view is not a false one, how does it happen that our commercial competitors are not able to bear with more serenity our supposed surrender to them of the "markets of the world," and how does it happen that the partial loss of our market closes foreign tin-plate mills and plush factories that still have all other markets? Our natural advantages, our Protective tariff and the Reciprocity policy make it possible for us to have a large participation in the "markets of the world," without opening our own to a competition that would destroy the comfort and independence of our people.

#### COINAGE AND CURRENCY.

The resolution of the Convention in favor of bimetallism declares, I think, the true and necessary conditions of a movement that has, upon these lines, my cordial adherence and support. I am thoroughly convinced that the free coinage of silver at such a ratio to gold as will main-

tain the equality in their commercial uses of the two coined dollars would conduce to the prosperity of all the great producing and commercial nations of the world. The one essential condition is that these dollars shall have and retain an equal acceptability and value in all commercial transactions. They are not only a medium of exchange, but a measure of value, and, when two unequal measures are called in law by the same name, commerce is unsettled and confused, and the unwary and ignorant are cheated. Dollars of unequal commercial value will not circulate together. The better dollar is withdrawn and becomes merchandise.

The true interest of all our people, and especially of the farmers and working people, who cannot closely observe the money market, is that every dollar, paper or coin, issued or authorized by the Government shall at all times and in all its uses be the exact equivalent, not only in debt-paying, but in purchasing power of any other dollar. I am quite sure that if we should now act upon this subject independently of other nations we would greatly promote their interests and injure our own.

#### THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE.

The monetary conditions in Europe within the last two years have, I think, tended very much to develop a settlement in favor of a larger use of silver, and I was much pleased and encouraged by the cordiality, promptness and unanimity with which the invitation of this Government for an international conference upon this subject was accepted by all the Powers. We may not only hope for, but expect, highly beneficial results from this conference, which will now soon assemble. When the result of the conference is known, we shall then be able, intelligently, to readjust our financial legislation to any new conditions.

#### ONE MAN ONE VOTE.

In my last annual message to Congress I said: "I must yet entertain the hope that it is possible to secure a calm, patriotic consideration of such constitutional or statutory changes as may be necessary to secure the choice of the officers of the Government to the people by fair apportionments and free elections. I believe it would be possible to constitute a commission, non-partisan in its membership, and composed of patriotic, wise and impartial men, to whom a consideration of the questions of the evils connected with our elections systems and methods might be committed with a good prospect of securing unanimity in some plan for removing or mitigating those evils.

#### AN ELECTORAL COMMISSION.

The Constitution would permit the selection of the Commission to be vested in the Supreme Court if that method would give the best guarantee of impartiality. This Commission should be charged with the duty of inquiring into the whole subject of the law of elections as related to the choice of officers of the National Govern-



ment, with a view to securing to every elector a free and unmolested exercise of the suffrage, and as near an approach to an equality of value in each ballot cast as is attainable. \* \* \* The demand that the limitations of suffrage shall be found in the law, and only there, is a just demand, and no just man should resent or resist it.

### THE CRY FROM THE SOUTH.

It seemed to me that an appeal to our people to consider the question of readjusting our legislation upon absolutely fair, non-partisan lines might find some effective response. Many times I have had occasion to say that laws and election methods designed to give unfair advantages to the party making them would some time be used to perpetuate in power a faction or a party against the will of the majority of the people. Of this we seem to have an illustration in the recent State election in Alabama. There was no Republican ticket in the field. The contest was between white Democrats. The Kolb party say they were refused the representation guaranteed by law upon the election boards, and that, when the courts by mandamus attempted to right this wrong, an appeal that could not be heard until after the election made the writs ineffectual. Ballot boxes were thrown out for alleged irregularities, or destroyed; and it is asserted on behalf of one-half, at least, of the white voters of Alabama that the officers to whom certificates have been given were not honestly elected.

### PERILS OF UNFAIR ELECTIONS.

There is no security for the personal or political rights of any man in a community where any other man is deprived of his personal or political rights. The power of the States over the question of the qualification of electors is ample to protect them against the dangers of an ignorant or depraved suffrage, and the demand that every man found to be qualified under the law shall be made secure in the right to cast a free ballot and to have that ballot honestly counted cannot be abated. Our old Republican battle cry, "A free ballot and a fair count," comes back to us, not only from Alabama, but from other States, and from men who, differing with us widely in opinions, have come to see that parties and political debate are but a mockery if, when the debate is ended, the judgment of honest majorities is to be reversed by ballot-box frauds and tally-sheet manipulations in the interest of the party or party faction in power.

### A NON-PARTISAN SOLUTION.

These new political movements in the States and the recent decisions of some of the State courts against unfair apportionment laws encourage the hope that the arbitrary and partisan election laws and practices which have prevailed may be corrected by the States, the laws made equal and non-partisan and the elections free and honest. The Republican party would rejoice at such a solution, as a healthy and patriotic local sentiment is the best assurance of free and honest elections. I shall again urge upon Con-



gress that provision be made for the appointment of a non-partisan commission to consider the subject of apportionments and elections in their relation to the choice of Federal officers.

#### CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

The Civil Service System has been extended and the law enforced with vigor and impartiality. There has been no partisan juggling with the law in any of the departments or bureaus as had before happened, but appointments to the classified service have been made impartially from the eligible lists. The system now in force in all the departments has for the first time placed promotions strictly upon the basis of merit, as ascertained by a daily record, and the efficiency of the force thereby greatly increased.

#### EDUCATIONAL INTERESTS.

The approval so heartily given by the convention to all those agencies which contribute to the education of the children of the land was worthily bestowed and meets my hearty approval, as does also the declaration as to liberty of thought and conscience, and the separation of Church and State. The safety of the Republic is an intelligent citizenship, and the increased interest manifested in the States in education, the cheerfulness with which the necessary taxes are paid by all classes, and the renewed interest manifested by the children in the National flag are hopeful indications that the coming generation will direct public affairs with increased prudence and patriotism. Our interest in free public schools, open to all children of suitable age, is supreme, and our care for them will be jealous and constant.

#### FREE SCHOOLS FOR ALL.

The public-school system, however, was not intended to restrain the natural right of the parent, after contributing to the public-school fund, to choose other educational agencies for his children. I favored aid by the General Government to the public schools with a special view to the necessities of some of the Southern States. But it is gratifying to notice that many of these States are, with commendable liberality, developing their school systems and increasing their school revenues to the great advantage of the children of both races.

#### AGRICULTURAL AFFAIRS.

The considerate attention of the farmers of the whole country is invited to the work done through the State and Agricultural Departments in the interest of agriculture. Our pork products had for ten years been not only excluded by the great Continental nations of Europe, but their value discredited by the reasons given for this exclusion. All previous efforts to secure the removal of these restrictions had failed, but the wise legislation of the Fifty-first Congress, providing for the inspection and official certification of our meats, and giving to the President power to

forbid the introduction into this country of selected products of such countries as should continue to refuse our inspected meats, enabled us to open all the markets of Europe to our products. The result has been not only to sustain prices, by providing new markets for our surplus, but to add 50 cents per hundred pounds to the market value of the inspected meats. Under the Reciprocity agreement special favors have been secured for agricultural products, and our exports of such products have been greatly increased, with a sure prospect of a further and rapid increase.

#### PROTECTION FOR FARM PRODUCTS.

The Agricultural Department has maintained in Europe an agent whose special duty it is to introduce there the various preparations of corn as articles of food, and his work has been very successful. The Department has also sent skilled veterinarians to Liverpool to examine, in connection with the British veterinarians, the live cattle from the United States landed at that port; and the result, in connection with the sanitary methods adopted at home, has been that we hear no more about our cattle being infected with pleuro-pneumonia. A judicious system of quarantine lines has prevented the infection of Northern cattle with the Texas fever. The Tariff bill of 1890 gives better protection to farm products subject to foreign competition than they ever had before, and the home markets for such products have been enlarged by the establishment of new industries and the development of others.

#### THE AMERICAN FARMER WILL SEE THE POINT.

We may confidently submit to the intelligent and candid judgment of the American farmer whether, at any corresponding period, so much has been done to promote his interests, and whether in a continuance and extension of these methods there is not a better prospect of food to him than in the invitation of the Democratic party to give our home markets to foreign manufacturers, and to abandon the Reciprocity policy; and better, also, than the radical and untried methods of relief proposed by other parties, which are soliciting his support.

#### THE NICARAGUA CANAL.

I have often expressed my strong conviction of the value of the Nicaragua Ship Canal to our commerce and to our Navy. The project is not one of convenience, but of necessity. It is quite possible, I believe, if the United States will support the enterprise, to secure the speedy completion of the canal without taxing the Treasury for any direct contribution, and, at the same time, to secure to the United States that influence in its management which is imperative.

#### FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND NATIONAL HONOR.

It has been the purpose of the Administration to make its foreign policy not a matter of partisan politics, but of patriotism and national honor, and I have very great

gratification in being able to state that the Democratic members of the Committee of Foreign Affairs responded in a true American spirit. I have not hesitated to consult freely with them about the most confidential and delicate affairs, and I frankly confess my obligation for needed co-operation. They did not regard a patient, but firm insistence upon American rights, and upon immunity from insult and injury for our citizens and sailors in foreign ports as a policy of "irritation and bluster." They did not believe, as some others seem to believe, that to be a Democrat one must take the foreign side of every international question, if a Republican Administration is conducting the American side. I do not believe that a tame submission to insult and outrage by any nation at the hands of another can ever form the basis of a lasting friendship; the necessary element of mutual respect will be wanting.

#### CHILI AND MR. EGAN.

The Chilian incident, now so happily and honorably adjusted, will, I do not doubt, place our relations with that brave people upon a more friendly basis than ever before. This already appears in the agreement since negotiated by Mr. Egan for the settlement by a commission of the long unsettled claims between the two Governments. The work of Mr. Egan has been highly advantageous to the United States. The confidence which I refused to withdraw from him has been abundantly justified.

#### FAIR TO ALL, AFRAID OF NONE.

In our relations with the great European powers, the rights of the United States and of our citizens have been insisted upon with firmness. The strength of our cause and not the strength of our adversary has given tone to our correspondence. The Samoan question and the Behring Sea question, which came over from the preceding Administration, have been, the one settled and the other submitted to arbitration upon a fair basis. Never before, I think, in a like period have so many important treaties and commercial agreements been concluded, and never before, I am sure, have the honor and influence—National and commercial—of the United States been held in higher estimation in both hemispheres.

#### A TRIBUTE TO THE VETERANS.

The Union soldiers and sailors are now veterans of time as well as of war. The parallels of age have approached close to the citadels of life and the end, for each, of a brave and honorable struggle is not remote. Increasing infirmity and years give the minor tones of sadness and pathos to the mighty appeal of service and suffering. The ear that does not listen with sympathy and the heart that does not respond with generosity are the ear and heart of an alien and not of an American. Now soon again the surviving veterans are to parade upon the great avenue of the National Capital, and every tribute of honor and love should attend the march. A comrade in the column of the victors' parade in 1865, I am not less a comrade now.

## MOB LAW MUST GO.

I have used every suitable occasion to urge upon the people of all sections the consideration that no good cause can be promoted upon the lines of lawlessness. Mobs do not discriminate, and the punishments inflicted by them have no repressive or salutary influence. On the contrary, they beget revenges and perpetual feuds. It is especially the duty of the educated and influential to see that the weak and ignorant when accused of crime are fairly tried before lawful tribunals. The moral sentiment of the country should be aroused and brought to bear for the suppression of these offenses against the law and social order.

## NO ROOM FOR DRONES OR THUGS.

The necessity for a careful discrimination among the immigrants seeking our shores become every day more apparent. We do not want and should not receive those who by reason of bad character or habits are not wanted at home. The industrious and self-respecting, the lovers of law and liberty, should be discriminated from the pauper, the criminal and the Anarchist, who come only to burden and disturb our communities. Every effort has been made to enforce the laws, and some convictions have been secured under the Contract Labor Law.

## A GRAND AND BLESSED LAND.

The general condition of our country is one of great prosperity. The blessing of God has rested upon our fields and upon our people. The annual value of our foreign commerce has increased more than \$400,000,000 over the average for the preceding ten years, and more than \$210,000,000 over 1890, the last year unaffected by the new tariff. Our exports in 1892 exceeded those of 1890 by more than \$172,000,000, and the annual average for ten years by \$265,000,000. Our exports of breadstuffs increased over those of 1890 more than \$144,000,000, of provisions over \$4,000,000, and of manufactures over \$8,000,000. The merchandise balance of trade in our favor in 1892 was \$202,944,342. No other nation can match the commercial progress which those figures disclose. Our compassion may well go out to those whose party necessities and habits still compel them to declare that our people are oppressed and our trade restricted by a protective tariff. It is not possible for me to refer, even in the briefest way, to many of the topics presented in the resolutions adopted by the convention. Upon all that have not been discussed I have before publicly expressed my views.

## THE MEANING OF CHANGE.

A change in the personnel of a National Administration is of comparatively little moment. If those exercising public functions are able, honest, diligent and faithful, others possessing all these qualities may be found to take their places. But changes in the laws and in administrative policies are of great moment. When public affairs



have been given a direction and business has adjusted itself to those lines, any sudden change involves a stoppage and new business adjustments. If the change of direction is so radical as to bring the commercial turn-table into use, the business changes involved are not readjustments but reconstructions.

#### A STARTLING CONTRAST OF POLICIES.

The Democratic party offers a programme of demolition. The Protective policy—to which all business, even that of the importer, is now adjusted—the Reciprocity policy, the new merchant marine, are all to be demolished—not gradually, not taken down, but blown up. To this programme of destruction it has added one constructive feature, the re-establishment of State banks of issue.

The policy of the Republican party is, on the other hand, distinctively a policy of safe progression and development—of new factories, new markets and new ships. It will subject business to no perilous change, but offers attractive opportunities for expansion upon familiar lines.

Very respectfully yours,

BENJAMIN HARRISON.



# THE ADMINISTRATION.

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## What Benjamin Harrison Has Done In The Last Four Years.

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### A RECORD THE NATION IS PROUD OF.

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#### Duty Faithfully Performed

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In the American theory of government, the President is not so much a deviser of policies, as an executor of laws. In practice, however, he is necessarily both. The responsibilities committed to him constantly by Congress, not less than the duty imposed upon him by the Constitution of advising Congress, render necessary the constant exercise of judgment and the constant formulation of public policies. The various departments of the executive branch of the Government are the agencies through which the President operates. In executing the laws and in giving effect to his personal views of how the Government should be conducted he has a latitude almost as great as his power, almost as wide as his responsibility.

In the conduct of foreign affairs the authority of the President is nearly supreme. It stops only at the point of a decision for or against war. Scarcely a law is passed, either, with regard to domestic affairs that does not in some way involve the use of executive discretion. In the management of the army, in the building and equipment of the navy, in matters of treasury management, in the direction of the Land Office and of the Indian Bureau, the President's authority is wide and in many matters supreme.

#### GRAVE QUESTIONS ARISEN.

During the three years and a half that have passed since Benjamin Harrison took the oath of office more and graver public questions, involving serious possibilities to the country, have arisen than in any similar term since the days of Reconstruction. Four serious controversies with foreign Governments have engaged attention; two great financial crises, brought about by British speculations in South American securities, have occurred to disturb the markets of the world and to cause a straining of American resources. Financial questions at home have taken an acute form and have greatly concerned large bodies of the people; an Indian war was almost precipitated, and, from its origin, gave horrid promise of being by far the worst Indian conflict that has occurred in the history of the country. The President has been constantly confronted with the necessity of rendering decisions and taking actions wherein the slightest error of judgment on his part might have been attended with the most serious consequences to the people.

## A RECORD FULL OF GOOD DEEDS.

How he has borne himself is a matter of pride to his countrymen, whatever their party affiliations. It is almost literally true to say that he has made no mistakes. It is certainly true that he has been equal to every emergency. He was nominated four years ago as an available candidate from a doubtful State as one who had led a comparatively quiet life with a record as a brave soldier and a safe and sagacious legislator. He was renominated because his record as President had put any other candidacy out of the question; because his party demanded his nomination; because the people were more than satisfied with his record; because he had bravely borne every responsibility, shirking never, and doing well his duty in the minutest as well as in the greatest particular; because his wisdom, his knowledge of man, his self-reliance, his sturdy common sense, his conservatism in judgment and his resolution and directness in action had rendered his administration of public affairs almost incomparable; had given his party absolute confidence in his leadership, and the country confidence in his official character, and had left his enemies and the enemies of his party without a word that they could truthfully utter against the excellence of his public work.

President Harrison's respect for the people, his feeling of safety in relying on their temperate and well-considered judgment, and his ability to withstand all sorts of pressure from partisan and class interests have at all times distinguished his public action. In the character of his appointments to office he has displayed a wonderful insight into human nature. There are about 120,000 offices in the Federal Government, over which the President has absolute control. Many of these have necessarily to be filled at least once in every four years. The President cannot possibly know all the people he is called upon to appoint. He must consider their looks, their conversation, the character of those who recommend them, and then he must act on his judgment and take the consequences. In no Administration have the executive appointments stood a higher test. This is especially true of judicial appointments, scarcely one of which has met with anything but the commendation of the whole country. The bench of the Federal judiciary stands to-day much higher in the esteem of lawyers and in the confidence of the people than it stood when Benjamin Harrison took the oath of office.

## A CONSTRUCTIVE AND DECIDING EXECUTIVE.

This is equally true of the diplomatic service. The United States have been represented abroad in every case during the Harrison Administration by men of understanding, high character and excellent diplomatic ability, and our relations with foreign powers to-day are in all cases improved. The spectacle has not been presented, as it was during the Administration of Grover Cleveland, of an American Minister whisked about from country to country in search of a Government that would consent to receive him. Though issues with foreign Governments have

arisen far graver and more numerous than came up during the Cleveland Administration, our representatives have been found to be men capable of handling them and of producing a result in all cases creditable to themselves and satisfactory to this country. When President Harrison became President he had on his hands the adjustment of every diplomatic controversy that arose during the Administration of his predecessor. Whoever his successor may be, he will find the slate absolutely clean. A comparison of the Administration of foreign affairs under the Cleveland Government with that under the Government of President Harrison affords striking illustration of the difference between Republican and Democratic Governments. The Republican Government does things and does them so they do not have to be done over again. The Democratic Government wanders aimlessly through mud and mire, and never seems to know where to turn to get out.

The record of the several departments of this Government during the last three and a half years is the record of Benjamin Harrison as President. What they have done, he has done. His has been in all cases the directing mind. While according to the heads of the departments that respect and authority which their position and abilities justify, the President has never lost sight of the fact that he was the responsible head of the Government, and that in the ultimate, as he would be the man who would be called to account for the result, he must do his own thinking. He has acted in accordance with this fact; and whether in the matter of foreign controversies—such as those with England as to Behring Sea, with Germany as to Samoa, with Italy as to the New Orleans affair, and with Chili as to the Baltimore outrage—or in matters of domestic administration—as in the purchase of bonds and the opening of new lands, the building of the Navy and the treatment of the Indians, postal reforms and the presentation of constitutional questions to the Supreme Court—in these and in all other affairs of moment, he has taken a constructive and deciding part.

The record that follows in these pages, therefore, is the record of Benjamin Harrison and the ground on which his party appeals to the people for a renewal of their expression of confidence in him.

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#### The Law Must Be Supreme.

(Knoxville, Tenn., April 14.)

We live in a Government of law. The compact of our organization is that a majority of our people, taking those methods which are prescribed by the Constitution and law, shall determine our public policies and choose our rulers. It is our solemn compact; it cannot safely be broken. We may safely differ about policies; we may safely divide upon the question as to what shall be the law; but when the law is once enacted, no community can safely divide on the question of implicit obedience to the law.—BENJAMIN HARRISON.

# THE STATE DEPARTMENT.

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## Splendid Accomplishments for Peace and Commercial Progress.

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A Gain of Sixty Millions in the Export Trade  
Directly Due to Treaties Concluded by the  
Harrison Administration—Samoa, Behring  
Sea and Chili—The President and  
Gallant Minister Eagan.

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While Mr. Cleveland was President there was nerveless diplomacy, of which Americans had cause to be ashamed. There were displays of petulant energy in negotiations with feeble States, but in great affairs with powerful Governments courage and firmness were lacking. There was a naval demonstration against Hayti; and Mexico, a country which ought always to be dealt with magnanimously, was coarsely bullied and wantonly affronted in a petty libel case. In its relations with great powers like Great Britain and Germany the Democratic Administration was irresolute and timorous.

Mr. Chamberlain easily duped Secretary Bayard into signing a discreditable Fisheries Treaty involving the abandonment of historical American rights won in the Revolution. Canada triumphed alike in the North Atlantic and in Behring Sea. When Lord Salisbury agreed to sign a convention providing a season and a distance within which pelagic seal fishing should be illegal, Ottawa interposed a veto and Secretary Bayard was reduced to supine helplessness.

### CLEVELAND SUITED SACKVILLE WEST.

So strongly were foreign interests favored in these negotiations, and in the gratuities squandered upon Canadian railways, that at the close of the Democratic Administration **the British Minister was exposed in the act of advising American citizens of English birth to vote for Mr. Cleveland.** Timorous diplomacy was not even safe, for although Secretary Bayard condoned when he ought to have resented acts of aggression in Samoa, he only succeeded in embittering the relations of Germany and the United States.

### AMERICAN INFLUENCE RESTORED.

With the Harrison Administration there came a rapid and complete transition in the conduct of foreign affairs. Both in the Old and in the New World **American prestige has been restored** by courage and firmness in dealing with Governments, whether great or small, and by a policy of enlightened self-interest in bringing the weight of the best market of the modern world to bear in determining commercial exchanges. American rights



have not been either compromised or abandoned in any quarter, but resolutely upheld in every diplomatic controversy. At the same time a pacific settlement has been invited in every instance where one could be effected on honorable terms. **The influence of the American Republic among nations was never greater than it is to-day after four years of Republican Administration.**

#### OUR VICTORY IN THE SAMOAN CASE.

The highest tribute paid to the diplomacy which triumphed in the Berlin Conference came from a powerful London journal, in the confession that England had submitted tamely to German aggression until it was left for the American Government to show her the path of honor. With inflexible firmness American rights and the cause of home rule in Samoa were upheld, and a treaty of peace, excluding the supremacy of any foreign Government in the islands, was negotiated. With equal courage and resolution the menaces of another great European nation were resented after the lynching of Italian murderers in New Orleans. As soon as an attitude of hostility was disclaimed, and the American Government was left at liberty to act upon its sense of justice, reparation was made in the form of an indemnity for the wrong done.

#### AMERICAN RIGHTS IN BEHRING SEA.

With Great Britain the Harrison Administration has taken a determined, but not unconciliatory, stand respecting American rights in Behring Sea. Upon the maintenance of those rights based on the Russian cession, and the peculiar conditions of seal life and propagation, depended the preservation of the only great herd of fur-seal remaining in the ocean. Canada, for the sake of facilitating the destruction of the herd by its own sealers, had vetoed an international arrangement and blocked the course of arbitration. Secretary Blaine took up the question with such vigor as to force an adjustment of it by an international tribunal. While denying strenuously that freedom of the seas involved license for marauding enterprises against a herd to which Americans had every right and Canadians none, he proposed temporary prohibition of sealing, and consented to a reference of the whole dispute to a board of neutral arbitrators.

A greatly-needed extradition treaty has also been concluded with Great Britain by which Canada has been closed as a base of retreat for American embezzlers and defaulters. The Harrison Administration succeeded in this work after the Cleveland Administration had failed to negotiate a convention in an unobjectionable form.

#### THE CHILIAN IMBROGLIO AND MINISTER EGAN.

In the Chilean complications the Harrison Administration upheld the dignity and honor of the country under conditions of exceptional difficulty. The outbreak of civil war in a friendly state imposed upon the American Government the obligation of maintaining an attitude of strict neutrality. This was done by the diplomatic and naval



officers in accordance with explicit instructions from Washington. Minister Egan made an ineffectual effort to bring about a pacific adjustment of the questions at issue, and in the interest of humanity extended to leaders on each side privileges of asylum in the American Legation. After the triumph of the Congressional party he refused to surrender the refugees under his roof, and, although harassed by spies and subjected to gross indignities, he persevered in protecting them until he secured their removal in safety from the country. **Those who had taken refuge under the American flag were not abandoned in their extremity.**

#### THE ATTACK ON THE "BALTIMORE'S" CREW.

In like manner those who had entered the service of the United States Navy were protected with all the resources of the Government when they were murderously assaulted in Valparaiso on account of their American uniform. The pursuit of the "Itata" for violation of port and neutrality laws in a Californian harbor had caused intense irritation in Chili, although the leaders of the Congressional party in surrendering the ship admitted the justice of the American demand. This bitterness of feeling had been intensified by false rumors maliciously circulated respecting the conduct of the American Admiral at the crisis of the revolution. These circumstances did not relieve the assault upon a portion of the "Baltimore's" men from its essential character as an attack upon the uniform of the American Navy, having its origin and motive in hostility to the American Government, which had been honorably fulfilling its neutral obligations. The affront was rendered more flagrant by the wanton conduct of the police and public authorities of Valparaiso.

The Administration, while it acted with forbearance in the early stages of this complication, was not to be put off by evasions. A fleet was dispatched to Southern waters, and preparations were rapidly made for naval hostilities on a large scale. When the Chilean Minister of Foreign Affairs issued an offensive circular letter, and there was inexplicable delay in answering the American Government's temperate request for explanations and reparation, an ultimatum was presented, which was satisfactorily answered. **The Matta circular was withdrawn, and full and explicit expressions of regret for the Valparaiso outrage were offered. Subsequently the sum of \$75,000 was paid to the American Minister as an indemnity for the lives taken and the injuries inflicted in the assault on the "Baltimore's" men.** The Administration's policy throughout this affair was forcibly expressed by President Harrison in one of the closing passages of his message to Congress, as follows :

#### NATIONAL HONOR NOT TO BE LIGHTLY ESTEEMED.

"If the dignity as well as the prestige and influence of the United States are not to be wholly sacrificed, we must protect those who in foreign ports display the flag or wear the colors of this Government against insult, brutality and death, inflicted in resentment of the acts of their

Government and not for any fault of their own. It has been my desire in every way to cultivate friendly and intimate relations with all the Governments of this hemisphere. We do not covet their territory; we desire their peace and prosperity. We look for no advantage in our relations with them except the increased exchanges of commerce upon a basis of mutual benefit. We regret every civil contest that disturbs their peace and paralyzes their development, and are always ready to give our good offices for the restoration of peace. **It must, however, be understood that this Government, while exercising the utmost forbearance toward weaker powers, will extend its strong and adequate protection to its citizens, to its officers and to its humblest sailor, when made the victims of wantonness and cruelty in resentment, not of their personal misconduct, but of the official acts of the Government."**

#### THE PRESIDENT AND MINISTER EGAN.

It was most fortunate for the United States, as President Harrison has frequently taken occasion to declare, that we were represented in Chili throughout this controversy by a Minister of unusual tact, sagacity, firmness, forbearance and good judgment. In all these qualities, not less than in patriotic devotion to the flag he represented, Patrick Egan showed his excellence. The Democratic party in Congress and in its newspaper press has incessantly abused Mr. Egan in the endeavor to make him the scapegoat of Chili's misconduct. His only crime, as all knew, was that of being an Irish Republican instead of an Irish Democrat; but that was sufficient for the Democratic party. Reinforced by a coterie of renegade Americans in Chili, who were there representing British interests and drawing British pay, the Democrats have assiduously circulated all kinds of slanders against Mr. Egan, supplied by these renegade Americans. They accused him of engaging in private speculations; of being interested in contracts with the Government of the Chilian President, Balmaceda; with giving Balmaceda secret information as to the plans of the revolutionists, and with giving to our Government misinformation as to the situation in Chili in the endeavor to induce President Harrison to give Balmaceda effective aid.

All these wicked falsehoods, emanating from British conspiracies and filtered through renegade Americans, were shamelessly employed by the Democratic party throughout this country to injure Mr. Egan personally, to coerce President Harrison into demanding Mr. Egan's retirement, to give aid and comfort to the Chilian revolutionists in their quarrel with our Government, and to deceive the American people as to the merits of the controversy.

#### EGAN'S NOBLE PERFORMANCE OF DUTY.

But this miserable business signally failed. President Harrison is not the man to desert a faithful public servant, no matter who may falsely assail him. The President knew that Mr. Egan had given him full and accurate in-

formation at all times and in every crisis of the affair. He knew Mr. Egan had followed his instructions implicitly, and had behaved with wonderful tact and good sense. He understood, too, the British commercial and political agencies that were at work at night and day in Santiago to entrap Mr. Egan, first because he was an Irishman, and, second, because he was honored and trusted by the Harrison Administration. The President knew that Mr. Egan had walked a straight path through all these contemptible conspiracies, regarding nothing but his duty to the country he represented.

**Knowing these things, the President stood resolutely by Mr. Egan, commended him by name at the most critical point of the affair in a special message to Congress, and let it be distinctly known at home and abroad that the army and navy of the United States, and all the resources of this country were at Mr. Egan's back, ready to vindicate him against insult or wrong.**

The result was the speedy subsidence of British and Democratic clamor. Behind the clamor there was nothing but lies, while behind Mr. Egan there was a noble record of duty well performed under conditions that painfully taxed his patience and called for the highest capacities of a diplomat. Mr. Egan remains in Chili with the fullest confidence of his Government and the thanks and plaudits of the American people. When he returns from Chili, it will not be to step down, but to step up.

#### ALL THE AMERICAS DRAWN TOGETHER.

The general policy to which the President referred was carried into effect when the Pan-American Congress was opened in Washington. The sessions were prolonged for nearly five months, and exhaustive reports were received on commercial union, international arbitration, steamships, railways, banking facilities, coinage and other subjects. While the recommendations of a representative body not armed with treaty-making powers could have no binding force, there was an amicable exchange of views on questions affecting the peace and prosperity of all republican nationalities on the continent. The most important results of this meeting were the adoption of a report in favor of the negotiation of partial treaties of reciprocity, the passage of a resolution recommending compulsory arbitration as an expedient for averting war, and the authorization of preliminary surveys for a system of railways on north and south lines to connect the three Americas.

#### RECIPROCITY AND ITS RESULTS.

The State Department, acting upon the advice of the Pan-American Congress, has negotiated a series of treaties based upon the Reciprocity clause of the McKinley Act. In return for a permanent free market for sugar, coffee and hides, important concessions have been made to American food products and manufactures. **About nine-tenths of the imported sugar supply of the United States, and from three-fifths**

to three-fourths of the coffee supply, are now regulated by reciprocity engagements highly favorable to the export trade. While the cost of living has been reduced to American consumers, the privilege of a free market has not been flung away as a gratuity to foreigners. Good business bargains have been made for American producers. A cheap breakfast table has been rendered contributory to the development of the export trade. A farmer, even while he sweetens and drinks his coffee, helps to sell his wheat in a foreign market.

#### AMERICAN FARMERS IN CONTROL OF FOREIGN MARKETS.

On this continent reciprocity conventions have been negotiated with Brazil, the Spanish West Indies, San Domingo, Guatemala, Honduras, Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Jamaica, Trinidad, Barbadoes, British Guiana, the Leeward and the Windward Islands. In Europe similar commercial agreements have been made with Germany, France and Austria-Hungary. The most important of these conventions in commercial results is the agreement with Germany, by which the United States is practically admitted to all the privileges of membership in the Continental Zollverein. The increase of the export trade with Germany during the five months ending on July 1, 1892, was \$12,748,513, mainly in agricultural products. The treaty with Spain has placed American millers in complete command of the Cuban market and greatly stimulated the export of provisions, machinery and general merchandise. A gain of \$6,293,156 with the Spanish West Indies was reported on July 1, 1892, with the new schedules in partial operation during the year. The convention with Brazil has established preferential schedules for American cotton goods and other manufactures and enlarged the export of breadstuffs. An increase of \$1,764,483 in the export trade has followed in a single year. Similar results have accompanied the negotiation of the conventions with France, Austria-Hungary, the Central American States, the British West Indies and San Domingo. Reciprocity has been shown to be a great business policy.

#### ENGLAND BOWS TO BITTER NECESSITY.

The British West Indies, in order to retain the American market for their sugar, were compelled to remove the discriminations against our food products which their tariff-makers had established for the benefit of English manufacturers. Free-trade England was practically taxing food in its colonies for the benefit of its own mercantile classes. Protective America, with its Reciprocity policy, is now cheapening food in the same islands. This anomaly and the remarkable gains for American trade through the development of Reciprocity have drawn from Lord Salisbury the despondent confession that devotion to free trade may be noble, but it is not businesslike. His speech at Hastings, in which retaliatory duties were seri-



ously proposed, disclosed the helplessness of the British Foreign Office in making commercial bargains with high-tariff countries. While the United States has been admitted to Continental Zollvereins and to the privileges of the French minimum tariff, and is enabled to obtain a preferred position as an exporter to Brazil, the Spanish West Indies and other countries, England is, as her most brilliant diplomatist has frankly declared, without armor or weapon for fighting the modern battle for a market. An English Prime Minister's direct tribute to the success of the Reciprocity policy leaves nothing wanting to complete the diplomatic reputation of the Harrison Administration.

#### UNEXAMPLED COMMERCIAL VICTORIES.

Another great stroke of business has been the removal of European prohibitions upon the admission of American meat products. To this result, **which has already involved an increase of the exports of hog products amounting to \$10,286,881** in the course of a few months, the Republican candidate for Vice-President greatly contributed by his strong and lucid presentation of the case when he was Minister to France. Vigorous as the State Department's work has been in the controversies which have arisen with Germany, Italy, Great Britain and Chili, and resolute and inflexible as its defense of American rights has invariably been, **its chief glory is that of conducting the most successful business Administration known in the annals of American diplomacy.** All the productive interests of the nation have been benefited by the enlargement of foreign markets for American exports. There has been noble sentiment in taking up the cause of murdered Riggin, and in recruiting a fleet to obtain redress for the wrongs of American sailors, but there has also been downright business in the making of a long series of commercial bargains and in the removal of restrictions upon the export trade.

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#### Smitten with the Love of Peace.

*(San Francisco, May 1st, Chamber Commerce Reception.)*

We will pursue the paths of peace; we are not a warlike Nation; all our instincts, all our history is in the lines of peace. Only intolerable aggression, only the peril of our institutions—of the flag—can thoroughly arouse us. With capability for war on land and on sea unexcelled by any nation in the world, we are smitten with the love of peace. We would promote the peace of this hemisphere by placing judiciously some large guns about the Golden Gate—simply for saluting purposes, and yet they should be of the best modern type.

—BENJAMIN HARRISON.



# THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

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Debts Paid, Circulation Vastly Increased  
and all Moneys Held at Par.

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Two Hundred and Fifty-nine Millions of Interest  
Bearing Debt Paid, the Greatest Record  
Ever Made, with a Saving to the  
People of \$55,352,493.

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In no department of the Government has there been administration more skilful or more valuable to the people than in the Treasury. These are the main results which tell of methods and means that assure public confidence in Republican financial statesmanship:

FIRST. The large reduction of the public debt, and the annual interest charge thereon.

SECOND. The reduction of public moneys, held by favored national banks, and the use of the same, in paying off the public debt.

THIRD. The placing of a two per cent. loan.

FOURTH. The increase in the volume of money in circulation.

FIFTH. The maintenance of all our moneys at par with each other, and the retention of a small but safe balance in the Treasury.

## REDUCTION OF DEBT.

There has been a very large reduction of the public debt since March 1, 1889. On that day the cash balance in the Treasury, stated according to the present method, and including the amount held for the redemption of United States notes, was \$172,997,428. At that date there were no bonds outstanding, redeemable at the pleasure of the Government, as was the case on March 1, 1885, when the Democratic Administration came into power. At that time there was over \$194,000,000 of three per cents outstanding and redeemable at the will of the Government. On March 1, 1889, the market prices of the fours and four and one-half per cents were high owing to purchases made by the preceding Administration. Notwithstanding these unfavorable circumstances, Secretary Windom succeeded, during the first sixteen months of his administration, in purchasing \$78,974,700 of four per cents and \$53,826,450 of four and one-half per cent. bonds; and at the end of the purchase was paying eight per cent. less for the fours, and five and five-eighths per cent. less for the four and one-halves, than at the beginning!

During the summer of 1890 the skilful management of our national finances averted grave disaster, and completely restored that confidence in commercial circles that

had been shaken by foreign financial troubles. Within a period of ninety days the Treasury Department disbursed over one hundred million dollars on account of the public debt.

The amount of United States bonds purchased and redeemed under this Administration since March 1, 1889, was \$259,093,650, at a cost of \$296,316,931. The cost of these bonds had they been allowed to run to maturity would have been \$351,669,424, **showing a saving to the Government, through these purchases, of \$55,352,493.**

The annual interest charge on March 1, 1889, was \$34,578,459; the annual interest charge July 1, 1892, was \$22,893,883, **showing a decrease under this Administration in the annual interest charge on United States bonds of \$11,684,576.**

#### AN ELOQUENT COMPARISON.

The interest-bearing debt of the United States on March 1, 1885, the advent of the Democratic Administration, was as follows :

MARCH 1, 1885.

	Amount.	Annual Interest.
3 % bonds.....	\$194,190,500	\$5,825,715
4½ % bonds.....	250,000,000	11,250,000
4 % bonds and Ref. Certs.	737,958,550	29,518,342
	<hr/> \$1,182,149,050	<hr/> \$46,594,057

The interest-bearing debt on March 1, 1889, the commencement of the Republican Administration, was as follows :

MARCH 1, 1889.

	Amount.	Annual Interest.
4½ % bonds.....	\$162,842,200	\$7,327,899 00
4 % bonds and Ref. Certs.	681,264,020	27,250,560 80
	<hr/> \$844,106,220	<hr/> \$34,578,459 80

The interest-bearing debt of the United States at the present time, July 1, 1892, is as follows :

JULY 1, 1892.

	Amount.	Annual Interest.
2 % bonds.....	\$25,364,500	\$507,290 00
4 % bonds and Ref. Certs.	559,664,830	22,386,593 20
	<hr/> \$585,029,330	<hr/> \$22,893,883 20

#### DEMOCRATIC FAVORITISM OF NATIONAL BANKS.

When the Democratic party assumed control of the Government in 1885, the amount of public money held by national banks was **\$13,665,573.** This amount was

increased, under Democratic Administration, until on April 30, 1888, it was **\$61,921,294.**

By March 1, 1889, this had been reduced to **\$48,818,991.** Only about one-fourth of this amount was actually required to be so held in the business of collecting revenues and disbursing expenditures. **The remainder was simply public moneys left with favored banks on deposit instead of being used to reduce the general indebtedness of the United States.** The amount has been reduced under Republican Administration to **\$13,866.270,** or about the same amount as was held when the Democratic party took control of the Treasury in 1885; that is to say, **these unnecessary balances have all been collected,** and the money so obtained has been employed in paying off the public debt.

#### PLACING OF THE TWO PER CENT. LOANS.

In addition to the large purchase of interest-bearing debt this Administration was able to extend over \$25,000,000 of the four and one-half per cent. bonds, falling due last September at the rate of **two per cent. per annum,** redeemable at the pleasure of the Government, **a rate lower than any other Government has ever been able to place a public loan,** and lower than this Government has ever been able to place it at any preceding period in its history.

#### INCREASE OF THE VOLUME OF MONEY IN CIRCULATION.

There has been a notable increase in the volume of money in circulation since March 1, 1889. On that date the amount was \$1,404,205,896, while on July 1, 1892, it was \$1,603,073,338, or an increase of **\$198,867,442, an increase per capita of \$1.44.** During a corresponding period of the last Administration there was an increase of only **\$85,421,811,** and a **decrease per capita** of sixteen cents.

#### ALL MONEYS AT PAR.

Notwithstanding the purchase of over 107,065,000 fine ounces of silver bullion under the Act of 1890, and the issue of \$105,472,000 in treasury notes, and notwithstanding the large exports of gold from the United States during this period, by wise and skilful management of the public finances every dollar of money issued by the Government has been kept at par with every other dollar of equal purchasing value, and **every holder of any obligation of the United States has been able and will continue to receive gold coin upon demand.**

#### THE REDUCTION OF THE SURPLUS.

Notwithstanding the large reduction in the revenues of the Government occasioned principally by placing sugar on the free list, the expenditures have been kept well within the receipts. The receipts of the Government from all sources from March 1, 1889, to July 1, 1892, have

aggregated **\$1,317,768,781**, while the expenditures have aggregated **\$1,073,079,931**, showing a net **excess of receipts over expenditures of \$244,688,850**. This surplus has been used, as shown above, in the reduction of the public debt.

The cash balance in the Treasury March 1, 1885, stated by the present method, and including the amount held for redemption in United States notes, was \$151,581,970. This was considered by the outgoing Republican Administration a liberal balance; but, by August, 1886, notwithstanding the fact that there was over \$194,000,000 three per cent. bonds outstanding redeemable at the pleasure of the Government, the surplus revenues had been allowed to accumulate in the Treasury until the balance had reached the enormous sum of **\$209,134,242**. Later it was reduced to \$169,146,475, but on May 1, 1888, it had again increased to **\$233,143,358**; and on March 1, 1889, when the Republican Administration again took charge of the Government, it was \$172,997,428. Since March 1, 1889, there has been a considerable reduction of the balance, which on July 1, 1892, was \$126,692,377.

Thus the revenues when collected have been promptly returned to the circulation, but without impairing the ability of the Government to meet all its obligations promptly as they came due.

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Sir John Macdonald Shows How American Protection  
Works.

*(From a speech in the Canadian Parliament by the late  
Sir John A. Macdonald, Premier.)*

Suppose the man has 100 acres on the Canadian side of the line and 100 acres of land on the American side of the line. Suppose he grows 1,000 bushels of barley on each of his farms. He takes his 1,000 American bushels to the American market and gets \$1.00 a bushel for it. He takes his 1,000 bushels of Canadian barley to the American market and gets but 85 cents per bushel, because **he has to pay 15 cents duty for taking it across the line**. How can it, in this case, be said that the consumer pays the duty? **It comes out of the pockets of the Canadian farmers.**



# THE NAVY DEPARTMENT.

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## Amazing Progress in Every Branch of Naval Science.

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### The Ablest Ship Ever Floated Can Now Be Launched in an American Yard Within Fifteen Months after the Keel Is Laid—Democratic Obstruction at Every Stage of the Reform.

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The Republican party initiates and develops new policies; the Democratic party obstructs them. This cardinal principle of American politics has been illustrated in the building of the navy. This movement received its first impulse under President Arthur's Administration. The work was undertaken in a self-reliant, American way. **No attempt was made to discredit the expert talent of the service.** No commission was sent abroad to purchase English designs at first or second hand. There was no thought of borrowing European ideas or of importing material or mechanism. Two Advisory Boards of recognized ability and experience reported a general scheme of naval development, and recommended the construction of three cruisers and a dispatch boat. These vessels were built from American designs, the contracts being awarded by Secretary Chandler, and were of American material and workmanship. The vessels were approaching completion when a Democratic Administration entered upon office. A characteristic display of partisanship and obstruction followed.

#### THE DESTRUCTION OF THE ROACH SHIPBUILDING PLANT.

Instead of accepting the work of his predecessor as a successful attempt to supply the Navy with cruisers of moderate cost, and directing all his energies to obtaining improved designs for faster and more useful vessels, Secretary Whitney devoted the first year of his term to warfare upon a Republican contractor, and with Attorney-General Garland's assistance drove him into bankruptcy. He not only delayed the completion of the vessels, but also seemed bent upon arraying one naval faction against another and securing condemnation of the designs. It is only just to add that during the closing half of his term he displayed commendable energy in planning new work and in securing the introduction of naval industries by awarding a large contract for gun steel and armor.

But, even when his partisan raid upon John Roach had ended, his prejudice against American expert talent remained. **He sent to England for designs of ships and machinery and discredited the ability of our engineers to compete with the best talent in Europe.** Some of his English-



American ships would have proved miscalculated failures if gross errors had not been discovered. **The battleship "Texas" would not have floated if she had been built on the original English lines.** One of the most ambitious of his cruisers was dangerously top-heavy until important alterations were made.

#### AMERICAN DESIGNS ONLY, AND THEY THE BEST.

Secretary Tracy, when he succeeded Secretary Whitney, proved to be neither a partisan nor a speculator in English designs, but a plain man of business, bent upon building the navy as rapidly as possible and upon obtaining the highest class of work. He did not declare war upon the contractors employed by his predecessor, nor did he organize a raid upon the shipbuilding industry. Without disparaging the work which had been done, he employed the best talent in the service in improving upon it. The English designs were not duplicated. **Every vessel which has been planned under the Harrison Administration has been American in design.** At least three original types of construction have been provided, and these have been markedly in advance of the naval architecture of Europe.

One of these is a commerce destroyer, with the unparalleled speed of twenty-two knots and a coal endurance enabling her to sail around the world without replenishing her bunkers. Another is an armored cruiser with a formidable battery and high speed, and designed to protect as well as to destroy commerce. Still another is a battleship with a tonnage of 10,000, with heavy armor and a very powerful battery, and with defensive qualities of the highest efficiency. Nine vessels of these three types, each essentially new to naval architecture, are now under construction, with an aggregate tonnage of 64,000. With forty-six vessels in various stages, there has been a great volume of work, employing 80,000 mechanics. **Secretary Tracy's energy has carried everything before it. Every branch of the service has felt the impetus of his resolute purpose and organizing power.**

#### AMERICA, AT LAST, A FIRST-RATE NAVAL POWER.

No detail of modern naval warfare has been neglected by this working Secretary. There has been a marked improvement in both the guns and the armor used for the new navy. The cost of the batteries has been reduced at the gun foundries, and by scientific tests a quality of nickel-steel armor, superior to anything used in Europe, has been produced for the protection of the battleships. Secretary Tracy found the gun factory in Washington at work upon six-inch guns. He will leave with mechanical appliances for turning out 13-inch guns. The manufacture of projectiles of high power has been introduced, and supplies of torpedoes and smokeless powder have been obtained. The project of having a force of trained naval militia in the coast towns has been carried out with marked success and with signs of increased public interest.

Added to all these improved methods of warfare are important reforms in various branches of the service, one of them being the reorganization of the navy yards on a business basis. So indefatigable a worker as Secretary Tracy has no time for such displays of reckless partisanship as clouded the reputation of his predecessor. Moreover, he is too practical an administrative officer to think of driving a shipbuilder into rack and ruin when there is such an enormous mass of work to be done for the new navy. A shipbuilder is his friend and ally, not his irreconcilable foe.

### THE NAVY CONFRONTING CHILI.

The Republican Administration has shown not merely that it can build a new fleet of greatly increased efficiency, but also that it can be depended upon in an emergency to use it with overwhelming effect. In the Chilian complications the Department was subjected to a rigorous test. The new navy had cost many millions. Could it be handled with vigor and success? Was there a Secretary in charge of it capable of preparing for war and of striking a sudden blow without delay when the time should come? Such questions as these could not be answered at the critical stage of the negotiations, but, when danger was past, the navy was found to have been prepared for a rapid concentration upon the Chilian coast. There was a fleet in the South Atlantic, and another one within hail in the Pacific. Coal ships had been chartered and were sailing southward; adequate arrangements had been made for provisioning the fleet; a repair ship had been secured and transports were available; batteries were in order and a torpedo outfit was under contract; and the navy was in readiness for active operations. **If it had not been thought to be so well prepared, it might have had serious work to do.**

### AMAZING PROGRESS IN NAVAL SCIENCE.

Never before has there been such unity of purpose nor such concentration of effort in making the navy a model service with all the resources of a modern fleet under symmetrical development. After a long and inexplicable season of indifference to naval progress Americans have suddenly mastered the intricacies of modern shipbuilding and are rapidly forging ahead of Europeans in all matters of offensive and defensive armaments. They are getting the best armor, guns, projectiles, powder and ships, and are adapting themselves to the practical requirements of the nation. The complex naval industries have been introduced with remarkable facility and the most difficult work is now undertaken and rapidly executed. **So large and fine a vessel as the "New York" can be launched fourteen months after the keel is laid.** Wonderful progress has been made in less than a decade.

The newest vessels added to the navy are essentially original and American in every sense. The "New York" and the "Columbia" will serve as models for foreign cruisers and commerce destroyers, and their remarkable combination of effective qualities will be reproduced by

European designers. No longer are English and French designs purchased and foreign types closely imitated. Only the best of its class is fit for the American Navy, and to have the best it must be invented by American talent. This is the spirit of the service which has felt under Republican Administration the invigorating impulse of a broad and practical mind with a creative policy.

#### WONDERFUL YARDS AND SHOPS.

The work begun under the Arthur Administration has been steadily developed and carried to a high level of perfection during the last four years. A new and most intricate manufacturing industry has been undertaken in private and public yards—that of building steel ships with engines and batteries of the highest power. Such warships as the four 10,000-ton armored vessels, and 22-knot commerce destroyers like the “Columbia,” are the most delicate and complicated machines of modern times. The work of building such a fleet has involved the conversion of navy yards into machine shops, where the highest classes of mechanics are employed regardless of any other consideration than skill. So scientific are the processes, and so thorough is the organization of the Department, that the best results of European skill and experience have been surpassed.

#### DEMOCRATIC ATTEMPTS TO KILL THE NEW NAVY.

It is a great and patriotic work conducted on a large scale and with vast expenditures, but the Democratic party does not seem to be in sympathy with it, and never allows an opportunity for obstructing it to pass. **Mr. Holman within a year has headed a series of petulant revolts against the new navy.** Secretary Tracy having caught up with all arrears, desired to continue the work of enlarging the fleet. His recommendations were very moderate, but **Democratic economists would not consent to have a dollar appropriated for new work.** They even opposed the bare authorization of two additional ships, and were only defeated after a desperate struggle. Even then they had succeeded in restricting the Secretary's proposals and in suspending the operation of a Republican Senate's progressive policy. Widely and deservedly popular as is the movement for developing the defensive resources of the nation, Democratic leaders cannot bring themselves to approve of it without hesitation and reserve. Their obstruction instincts overmaster them whenever fresh proposals are made for battleships of the highest class. They are confused by the notion that a fighting navy should be wanted. Some of them like Mr. Holman are constantly mumbling under their breath, “What is a navy good for anyway?” **The work of making the American Navy what it ought to be—a marvel of modern science and the pride of the seas, a fortress and a defense of American rights—falls upon the more progressive and patriotic party.** The battle of American naval supremacy will have to be fought to the very end, and the victory won by the Republican party.

# THE WAR DEPARTMENT.

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## Sea-Coast Defenses Now Constructing in a Dozen Great Harbors.

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## Great Gun Factories Have Been Born of Republi- can Endeavor—Submarine Mines Laid—The Army Reorganized in Rank and File.

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President Harrison is to be congratulated upon the administration of the affairs of the Department of War. Under Secretary Proctor, and now under Secretary Stephen B. Elkins, reforms and progress have been the rule. Over \$50,000,000 are annually applied under the direction of this Department in the superintendence of river and harbor improvements and public works throughout the country; in the maintaining of free and unobstructed commerce along the seaboard and through navigable highways; in defenses and ordnance in connection therewith; in addition incidental matters pertaining to the preserving and perfecting the records of the War of the Rebellion and pensioners, and a careful management of the entire military system.

During the Harrison Administration there have been more activity and successful development than in any previous corresponding period for thirty years. **Nearly two hundred millions of dollars have been expended without the loss through defalcation or official mishap of a single dollar to the Government!**

### NO INVASION NOW IS FEARED.

Our people had real occasion to be apprehensive of foreign invasion until in August, 1890, a Republican Congress began the creation of a system of defenses, and appropriated a million and a quarter for the construction of gun and mortar batteries at Boston, New York and San Francisco, the three great gateways to the American Continent. That system embraces (1) an armament of the heaviest rifle guns, which, while widely dispersed, can concentrate on the enemy's vessels, projectiles calculated to keep the most powerful fleet at a distance, or to destroy it if it ventures near; (2) submarine mines planted in the channels and roadways; (3) the protection of these mined areas by batteries of rapid-firing guns.

Appropriation was last year made for the defense in this fashion of Hampton Roads and Washington, and projects for the defense of Charleston and Savannah are under consideration. Modern heavy rifle guns are of such increased range that the Administration's plan pro-



poses the removal of the exterior line of defenses even eight or ten miles from a city, thus keeping an enemy's fleet beyond bombarding distance.

President Harrison believes we should have heavy modern ordnance, and should make it ourselves. This we now do. No longer need we import the steel of which armament is made, nor the largest forgings. Under Republican encouragement a new industry has been established. The machinery for the army and navy gun factories is American-made, and the material used in them is fabricated in this country. The best way to avoid war is to be prepared for it. This present Republican Administration has furnished an imposing preparation.

### A VASTLY IMPROVED ARMY.

The army itself, in its men and in its management, is vastly improved as a result of nearly four years' work. The efficiency of those in command has been increased. The work, habits and abilities of each officer are regularly reported, and improved attainments and conduct are already noted.

Under the President's guidance the primitive system which involved many unnecessary hardships and inconveniences for enlisted men has been improved. Tardy courts-martial for minor offenders has given way to summary courts which promptly dispose of such cases, derelicts being punished under a mandatory code of specific penalties. The enlisted man likes this much better. He is better fed, clothed and lodged than formerly. Especially does the law passed upon the recommendation of the Department during the present Administration, which provides for the purchase of an honorable discharge, meet the approval of the soldiers, who formerly were forced to serve their full term, however irksome the life to them. This generous treatment accorded by the Department as now constituted has resulted in a notable improvement in the class of men presenting themselves for enlistment, and in a reduction of the number of deserters from 112 per thousand during the year ending March 31, 1889, to 57 per thousand during the year just passed.

### THE ARMY ON THE FRONTIER.

The Department has enlisted Indians as regular soldiers with signal success. The practice promotes civilization among the tribes, and secures the warlike young braves as champions, not enemies, of the Republic. About 800 Indians, including five full troops of cavalry and seven companies of infantry, have been enlisted. Within the last four years, of the frontier garrisons, one-fourth of them, many of them isolated and all useless, have been abandoned. This change is agreeable to the men themselves, and is along the line of Secretary Elkins' much-applauded policy, which contemplates the establishment at strategic points of larger posts.

### ROYAL TRAINING FOR OUR MILITIA!

To utilize the splendidly drilled "regulars" in training and inspiring the militia of the country is the Department's idea, and one greeted with enthusiasm by the



manly young fellows who form the thousands of military companies of which our cities and towns are justly proud. The State troops will be placed upon a higher plane of efficiency and brought into more intimate relation with the regular army.

The notorious injustice worked by the Democratic Administration upon those entitled to pensions, through red tape and grossly lax methods, resulting in hopeless blockade of business in the Pension Records Division of the War Department, has been happily remedied. System has been introduced. The calls from the Pension Office alone for information from the records average 205,000 annually. Under this Republican Administration 40,000 cases in arrears were brought up in one year, 30,000 new ones were disposed of, and 197 clerks were doing the work that formerly occupied 649.

Our army, happily, numbers only 25,000, as against 1,000,000 professional soldiers in Germany with two-thirds of our population; but recent occurrences remind the Republic, both as regards our dignity abroad and good order at home, that the spirit of a vigorous patriotism—even a military spirit—must be encouraged and conserved. It would indeed be folly for voters in the coming election to make change in the Administration and thus deprive the Republic of a continuance of the progressive, vigorous, yet wise and careful, policy of President Harrison and Secretary Elkins.

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### The Dignity of Labor.

GENTLEMEN, you can not elevate labor. It is beyond your reach. God blessed labor in the beginning. We may and should do that which tends to ennoble and elevate the laborer, but we can not elevate labor. God blessed that in the beginning, when by His holy ordinance He commanded that in the sweat of our faces we should eat bread. Labor is not only noble, but ennobling. \* \* \* This is a nation of laborers; it is not of consequence where or how we labor to honorably fill life's mission, but do we live and labor worthily and well? We recognize no idlers save the gamblers, the loafers, and those who subsist by lawlessness, and they are few. We all get our bread in sweat of our faces, whether our efforts are bestowed in one capacity or another. And this creates one great bond of sympathy between all our people. I am in favor of all those organizations which call together men of kindred sympathies, who, recognizing the universal brotherhood of mankind, and the equal rights of all, seek to do that which will lift men up, make them better, and which gives them to understand that in this country, to those who practice industry, economy, and sobriety, the road to competence and excellence is open.

—BENJAMIN BUTTERWORTH.

# THE INTERIOR DEPARTMENT.

How Its Great Bureaus Have Been Conducted by Secretary Noble.

Reforms in Every Branch of the Service—The  
Eleventh Census—Commissioner Carter's  
Work in the Land Office—The Indian  
Bureau and Its Care of the  
Nation's Wards.

The Interior Department is a vast collection of business offices wherein the laws of the Government with regard to its Territories, the Public Lands, the Indian Service, Pensions, Patents and many other smaller concerns are put into execution. The census is taken under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, so that his duties since the Harrison Administration came into office have been even more varied and laborious than usual. Signal success has marked their performance. The eleventh census, dealing with a much greater number of public affairs than have heretofore been investigated by any census, has been taken three months earlier than any other. The work of enumeration began on June 1, and its result as to population was announced on October 30. The result of the next preceding census was not announced until January. In other words, although there was an increase of more than 12,000,000 of people to be counted, making the work 25 per cent. greater than before, the result was made out three months earlier. What this means in the handling of the enumerators is not easily appreciated. The publications of the eleventh census have been five times greater already than those of the tenth census, but there is no doubt that in the collection and arrangement of the finally completed statistics as much as two years will be gained over any preceding record. The new departments covered by the eleventh census are those of school and church statistics, Indian statistics, mines and mining and the general subject of mortgage indebtedness. These are matters of the highest value to the public, without which the real condition of the country would be but partially exhibited.

It is an interesting fact, that while our population has been increasing from 50,000,000 to 62,000,000, that of the United Kingdom has grown from 35,000,000 to only 39,000,000. The force of this fact is most impressive in the story it tells of American development.

Many attempts have been made by Democratic partisans to impeach the work of Superintendent Porter, but every such proceeding has ended in the humiliation of those engaged in it. The Congress investigation, carried on by Democratic Congressmen to inquire into Democratic charges, proved abundantly that Mr. Porter's work has been wonderfully fair, accurate and complete, and proved only that. The committee of investigation, ashamed to report that its libelous informants were false witnesses,

unwilling, before election, to admit the truth, and unable to declare anything to the discredit of the Bureau, made no other report before Congress adjourned than to say it would report some time in the distant future!

#### IN THE LAND OFFICE.

The change of Administration when Cleveland went out and Harrison came in was to none more apparent than to that great body of the American people who had newly settled on the public domain in the great States and Territories west of the Mississippi River. For four years they had been treated almost barbarously. The Homestead laws of the United States, created by the Republican Party, were aimed to settle the West, to bring into cultivation the vast and wonderfully fertile plateaus and prairies that had been waiting for centuries the touch of plow and harrow. **Beyond comparison and far beyond expectation had been the success of the Homestead policy.** Millions of Americans from the Eastern States and millions more of immigrants from all the countries of Europe had settled, developed and brought into fellowship with the Union, Territory after Territory and State after State.

But the Democratic party, as hungry after scandals as after spoils, when it came into power, proceeded, without investigation and without the slightest evidence, to denounce the settlers, whose thrift and industry had made the country great, and to vex and plunder them. Andrew Jackson Sparks, Commissioner of the General Land Office, under Mr. Cleveland, within a few days after he took office, declared that the great body of settlers in the West had acquired their lands dishonestly, and, in his first annual report, placed the falsehood on record, that at the outset of his administration he "was confronted with overwhelming evidences that the public domain was being made a prey of unscrupulous speculation and the worst forms of land monopoly, through systematic fraud carried on and consummated under the public land laws."

#### SLANDERS AND WRONGS AGAINST THE WEST.

He had the crazy audacity to declare, in the same report, that the proportion of fraudulent entries could be more nearly estimated at the whole number of such entries than in any other manner. At no time was Commissioner Sparks in possession of the slightest particle of proof in support of his statements. There is not on file in the Department, and there never has been, any statement of facts even suggestive of such proof. **If the idea in his head was not purely chimerical, it was partisan and malicious.**

At this time large numbers of applications for final papers were before the Department. Claiming that the entries upon the public domain were in almost all instances fraudulent, and that the merchants and farmers who had created Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas, the Dakotas, Montana and all the far West were unscrupulous speculators, Commissioner Sparks issued an order on April 3, 1885, suspending action on all entries in almost the entire country west of the Mississippi River. **The spirit that prompted this order controlled the administration of the land laws for four years.** Settlers were in all cases treated as suspicious



characters, and the vaguest and most indefinite charges against them were enough to cause delays in the acquirement of their lands and expenses in the protection of their rights that rendered all their relations with the Government a source of vexation, reproach and loss. In thousands of cases farms that had been fully acquired were actually lost to their rightful owners by the unjust conduct of Commissioner Sparks.

Naturally, when this Administration assumed the reins of government in 1889, it was confronted by a land system utterly demoralized in every branch and bureau. **There were pending and awaiting consideration no less than 350,953 applications and entries.** In the first year of the Cleveland Administration agricultural patents had been issued to over 11,000,000 acres, but in the three succeeding years the total number issued covered only 14,000,000 acres.

#### REPUBLICANS DO THINGS BETTER.

Secretary Noble, with the aid of Commissioners Groff and Carter, has in three years **cleared up all these arrearages.** In 1890, 117,247 agricultural patents were issued, covering 18,759,520 acres. In 1891, 114,360 patents were issued, covering 18,297,600 acres. In 1892, 96,380 patents were issued, covering 15,420,800 acres. **The total number of patents issued from 1885 to 1888 was 162,754. The total number issued from 1888 to 1892 was 398,128.** The total number of acres handed to those who had earned them in the first period amounted to only **26,040,640**, while in the second period they amounted to **63,700,480.** The docket is now clear, and when Commissioner Carter resigned office on July 1, 1892, he left a bureau free to attend to current business as it arose. The brave and hardy people who had said, with Tennyson, "more life and fuller that I want," who had turned the wilderness into a garden, and had dug millions in metal from the hills, are no longer treated as if their business was a disgrace and an injury to the Nation. The Government's assumption in dealing with them is not that they are frauds seeking to swindle the public, but honorable Americans seeking to give homes to their children and wealth and strength to the country.

#### THE INDIAN BUREAU.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs is one of the most difficult and perplexing offices in the Government. It has to do with the oversight of 250,000 Indians, ranging all the way from the lowest savagery up to complete civilization. It deals with their lands, their offences, their education, etc., etc. It disburses every year many millions of dollars, purchases and distributes large quantities of provisions, clothing, agricultural implements, stock, etc., and has to contend with great difficulties.

During the three years, from July 1, 1885, to June 30, 1888, the total appropriations for the Indian service amounted to \$16,993,265.48; while for the three years, from July 1, 1889, to June 30, 1892, the total appropriations amounted to \$38,831,355.16. During the first three years mentioned above, there was paid for lands purchased from the Indians nothing; while during the last



three years there was paid for lands purchased from Indians \$16,808,692.49.

#### INDIAN LANDS THROWN OPEN.

The relinquishment to the Government of large tracts of land held by Indians in common, and their accepting of small individual allotments for farming purposes during the past two or three years, while of great good to the Indian, was also a pecuniary benefit to the Government; as although considerable cash had to be paid to the Indians, which swelled the annual appropriations greatly in the end by the disposal of the land to actual white settlers, the Government will be fully reimbursed.

That which distinguishes the present administration of Indian affairs more than any one thing is the policy of reducing the Indian reservations and allotting lands to the Indians in severalty. During the three years of Harrison's Administration, more than twenty-four millions of acres of Indian lands have been restored to the public domain, to become the residence of pioneer settlers. During the first three years of the last administration there were 4,125 individual allotments of land made to Indians; while during the three years of Harrison's Administration, 12,273 Indian allotments were made. During the first three years of the last administration there were 690 patents issued to Indians for lands, while during the three years of the Harrison Administration there have been 7,248 delivered. A vast amount of labor is involved in this matter of reducing the reservations, and especially in the matter of making allotments.

#### INDIAN REFORMS.

The object of making Indians successful farmers has been kept constantly and prominently in view for the last four years, and the results have been very gratifying, as, owing to great numbers having taken allotments of lands in severalty, and now feeling a personal interest and ownership in their land, they have more inducement to fence, break and cultivate it, and a very decided advance may be expected in the next few years. They are being assisted by training schools, where farming, gardening and care of stock, especially milch cows, are taught to the young men. Great numbers of stock for breeding purposes have been issued to them under such provisions and restrictions as will insure their proper care and the care of the increase for sufficient length of time to supply each thrifty farmer with a small herd of his own. Practical farmers are located amongst them, so as to be constantly with them to instruct and encourage them.

#### INDIAN EDUCATION.

The educational work of the Indian Bureau for the fiscal years 1886-7-8-90-92 may be summarized as follows:

	No. of Schools.	Capacity.	Enrollment.	Average Attendance.
1886	214	15,291	12,316	9,360
1887	223	15,766	14,333	10,250
1888	233	16,464	15,212	11,240
1890	246	18,457	16,377	12,232
1891	256	19,992	17,926	13,588
1892	275	*22,000	*19,000	*16,000

\* Approximately.

During the last three fiscal years new reservation boarding schools have been established among the White Mountain Apaches, Arizona; at Fort Belknap, Montana; Fort Totten, North Dakota; Fort Sill, Oklahoma; Seger Colony, Oklahoma; Okanagan, Washington. New reservation boarding schools will soon be opened in the southwestern part of the Kiowa Reservation, at Hoopa Valley, California; Ouray, Utah; Oneida, Wisconsin, and Western Shoshone, Nevada.

Large training schools have already been established at Fort Mojave, and Phoenix, Arizona, and Fort Lewis, Colorado, near the Southern Ute Reservation, and a similar school will immediately be opened at Fort Shaw, Montana. Building operations are already under way which will result in a few months in the opening of training schools at Mount Pleasant, Michigan; Tomah, Wisconsin; Pipestone, Minnesota; Flandreau, South Dakota, and Perris, California. The total capacity of these new schools is 2,340.

#### REFORMS IN SCHOOL METHODS.

Some other important matters which have occurred during the last three fiscal years are the following: The repairing, enlarging, remodeling, and furnishing with a better and fuller equipment schools already in existence. By means of these agencies, the enrollment and average attendance has been largely increased. The service has been greatly aided by the adoption of a new course of study, based upon the latest researches in educational science; a list of text books by modern authors; the promulgation of uniform rules for the government of schools; the enactment by Congress of a compulsory law for the education of Indian youth; the adoption of a more complete and extended system of supervision, whereby careful and critical inspection can be made of the whole field of Indian-school work; the extension of the contract system to public schools by means of which Indian youth can be educated in company with their white brethren, and the extension of the regulations of the Civil Service Law to the more important positions in the Indian school service.

#### THE PENSION BUREAU.

No bureau of the whole Government is more jealously watched or ardently hated by the Democratic party than that which deals with pensions. The best answer to slander is found in the two tables following, comparing the work done under Grover Cleveland with that done under Benjamin Harrison. The record for Cleveland's Administration from March 1, 1885, to June 30, 1888, is as follows:

FROM MARCH 1, 1885, TO JUNE 30, 1888.

Number of calls on War Department.....	567,259
Pieces of mail matter received.....	7,632,293
Pieces of mail matter sent.....	5,450,825
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Certificates issued:	
Invalid original.....	173,420
Widows' original, increase, etc.....	160,987
Total.....	334,407
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Total amount expended for salaries of clerks and special examiners, together with per diem and expenses of special examiners.....	\$8,106,419 87
Average cost in salaries of issuing each certificate...	24 24
Amount expended for per diem and traveling expenses of special examiners.....	1,485,389 79
Medical examinations made.....	592,212
Number of boards of examining surgeons.....	400
Amount disbursed for pensions from March 1, 1885, to June 30, 1888.....	\$237,685,704 77
Cost of disbursement.....	899,009 56
Average cost of disbursing one dollar during said period.....	.035
Average cost of paying one pensioner.....	.729
Total number of original and restoration cases allowed from March 1, 1885, to June 30, 1888.....	181,269
Total number of increase and reissue cases allowed from March 1, 1885, to June 30, 1888.....	207,177
Total number of pensioners added to rolls from March 1, 1885, to June 30, 1888.....	182,269
Total number of pensioners on rolls March 1, 1885....	337,669
Total number of pensioners on rolls June 30, 1888....	452,557
Net increase during said period.....	114,888

FROM MARCH 1, 1889, TO JUNE 30, 1892.

The record during Harrison's Administration was as follows:

Number of calls on War Department.....	855,871
Pieces of mail matter received.....	15,126,871
Pieces of mail matter sent.....	9,994,942
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Certificates issued:	
Invalid original.....	468,216
Widows' original, increase, etc.....	291,387
Total.....	759,603
<hr/>	
Total amount expended for salaries of clerks and special examiners, together with per diem and expenses of special examiners.....	\$8,437,357 40
Average cost in salaries of issuing each certificate...	11 10
Amount expended for per diem and traveling expenses of special examiners.....	\$1,059,270 81
Medical examinations made.....	1,204,088
Number of boards of examining surgeons.....	1,232
Amount dispersed from March 1, 1889, to June 30, 1892.....	\$391,064,778 46
Cost of disbursement.....	1,268,310 23
Average cost of disbursing one dollar during said period.....	.0032
Average cost of paying one pensioner.....	0.49½
Total number of original and restoration cases allowed from March 1, 1889, to June 30, 1892.....	475,360
Excess during Harrison's Administration.....	294,091
Total number of increase and reissue cases allowed from March 1, 1889, to June 30, 1892....	266,778
Excess during Harrison's Administration.....	59,601
Total number of pensioners added to rolls from March 1, 1889, to June 30, 1892.....	475,360
Excess during Harrison's Administration.....	294,191
Total number of pensioners on rolls March 1, 1889....	472,920
Total number of pensioners on rolls May 31, 1892....	856,087
Net increase during said period.....	383,167
Excess during Harrison's Administration.....	268,279

# THE POSTAL DEPARTMENT.

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## No More Democratic Deficiencies to be Made Up by Congress.

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### Mr. Wanamaker Carries Out a Host of New and Sweeping Reforms in Postal Service—Fewer Lost Letters, Faster Trains, and a Vastly Improved Local Service.

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The management of postal affairs under the last Democratic Administration left much to be desired. Postmaster-General Wanamaker has applied to the postal service his abilities as a business man, and many progressive reforms have been accomplished. The deficiency of \$6,227,919.43 for the fiscal year 1889, when the Democrats were in control, has been reduced to \$3,978,392.38, as estimated for the year ended June 30, 1892; and for 1893 there will probably be a small surplus. The Administration is bringing this better state of affairs about by providing better service, thus increasing the business, and, consequently, the revenues, of the Office. There is no surer indication of the general condition of business in this country than the postal receipts. The amount of increase and the improved rate under this Administration betoken prosperity.

#### SOME STRIKING COMPARISONS.

Comparisons with the preceding Democratic regime prove the efficiency of Republican work. The Administration of Mr. Cleveland increased expenditures thirteen and one-half per cent.; the present Administration not quite four per cent. The Democrats in their last full year of Administration increased the special delivery business over that of the preceding year a little less than fifteen per cent. During the past year—1892—the increase has been over eighteen per cent. In 1888, under Democratic management, the losses of registered mail matter averaged one piece in every 15,300 registered; in 1892 the loss has been about one in every 40,000 pieces registered. Great savings have been achieved in the obtaining of supplies by contract. The people now have their choice of three sizes of postal cards. A system of visitation by the postmasters of the larger offices has been instituted. The object is not to inspect or reprimand, but to help and encourage; and the officials of the smaller and more remote offices are greatly benefited.

This one measure costing the Government not one dollar, but at the cost of many hundreds of dollars and many days of time voluntarily given out of the zeal of the postmasters, has greatly promoted harmony and an *esprit de corps* throughout the Department.



## NO PARTISANSHIP IN THE RAILWAY MAIL SERVICE.

The railway mail service, an intricate maze, was under the Cleveland Administration permitted to fall a prey to the greed of the politician. No longer so. Business laws rule absolutely now. Whereas for the year ending June 30, 1888, there was noted against railway postal clerks one error to 3,707 pieces distributed, for 1892 there was but one error to 5,466 pieces. **This record is the best in the history of the railway mail service.** Railway postal clerks are stimulated to the highest endeavor by the award of competitive prizes. Since May 1, 1889, not one clerk has been dismissed from this service excepting for cause; indeed, the merit system, with promotions to fill vacancies, finds in Mr. Wanamaker a staunch supporter. Last July he brought about a complete change in the status of thousands of postal employees both in the Department at Washington and in the service at large, which takes wholly out of the range of extraneous influences the advancement and salary of any of the people affected.

## NEW LIGHTNING MAIL SERVICE.

Letters make their journeys in less time than formerly. This Administration is forever looking about for faster trains and shorter routes over which to send the mail bags. For instance, the gain in transit between New York and San Francisco from March, 1888 (under Democratic management), to November, 1888, with the Harrison Administration in power, was  $2\frac{1}{2}$  hours. From New York to New Orleans the schedule has been advanced 11 hours and 35 minutes since 1889. So in every direction, and between many points. In the one year, 1890, there were put on 5,354 new railway post-offices, and 8,917 cars improved by added space. In the following year the additions were: New, 2,610; improved, 8,078.

## BETTER LOCAL SERVICES.

The suburban service has been greatly improved. City distributions are more frequent. New conveniences have been added. All these things are in the experience of every citizen. There never was a time when mail matter was so promptly collected, so swift in transmission, so absolutely sure of reaching its destination.

The advantages of the money-order system have been placed as far as practicable within the reach of communities destitute of means for the transmission of small sums of money. Within twelve months the policy has been inaugurated of extending the system so that it shall embrace all post-offices at which the compensation of the Postmaster is not less than \$200 per annum. By reducing the amount of security required of a postmaster to authorize him to do a money-order business, the number of such offices is greatly increased, Postmaster-General Wanamaker's plan, however, perfectly securing the Government against loss. The number of money-order offices has been increased by this Administration since June 30, 1888, by 6,617, or a little over 80 per cent.

The abolition of the lottery curse is a Republican

triumph. By persistent effort in the Post-Office Department, lottery matter is now known to be almost wholly driven out of the mails.

#### THE FOREIGN MAIL SERVICE.

The Postal Aid Act will secure increased and quicker service, and henceforth American mails are to be carried under the Stars and Stripes. Forty-six communities have already successfully tried the rural free delivery. It will change the whole home life of our farmers, bringing them the newspaper regularly without expenditure of time or effort on their part. Life on the farm will thus be made more attractive. Mr. Wanamaker is endeavoring to secure the reduction of the registry fee for mail matter down to five cents. House to house collections of mail matter, and sea post-offices, the application of the railway mail principle to ocean steamers, are other triumphs of practical government scored by this Administration.

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# THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL'S OFFICE.

It Has Been Rarely Successful in Its  
Work Before the Courts.

Election Thugs Sent to Condign Punishment—  
Justice no Longer Denied by Delays—Fed-  
eral Judges Protected and the Laws  
Everywhere Upheld.

In the Department of Justice, Attorney-General Miller has acquitted himself with much credit. It is not generally appreciated that an unusual number of great constitutional questions are being adjudicated during this Administration—more than at any other period since Reconstruction days. The Department has been prompt and thoroughly prepared in the presentation of cases. The election laws have been better enforced than for several years previously, especially in the South, and violators rigorously punished. In cases where the juries have failed to do their duty, often by reason of partisan considerations, the Attorney-General instructed the district-attorney to try and retry the cases so long as there was any hope of obtaining a verdict. The lottery interests have been foiled at every point. Indeed, this great moral victory achieved by the Harrison Administration is in itself sufficient to entitle it to the support of upright citizens at the polls. The much abused Fifty-first Congress, the "Do Something Reed Congress," as Republicans have proudly dubbed it, paved the way with vigorous legislation, and the Republican Department of Justice looks to it that the lottery people do not perpetuate their institution through technical or illegal evasions.

## PROTECTING FEDERAL JUDGES.

The new tariff law, which is working benefits and prosperity in every community, has been upheld as constitutional, and the Interstate Commerce Law, the safeguard of the people, especially of the farmers and ship-owners of the West and South, has been strengthened and adhered to. The protection of Mr. Justice Field by a United States Marshal of California, through instructions from Washington, though it resulted in the killing of the notorious Terry, was earnestly approved by the people. The episode re-established the important principle that the President is vested with not only the authority, but the duty to protect Federal Judges in the discharge of their duties.

## EVERYWHERE UPHOLDING THE LAWS.

The conviction of three young men of Northern Mississippi, charged with combining to prevent a young colored man from acting as postal agent, is an instance of

the firm intention of this Administration to uphold the rights of colored citizens.

The conspiracy in the neighborhood of Macon, Georgia, to prevent certain citizens of New York from occupying and enjoying their land holdings in that locality, was successfully shattered and a number of the conspirators convicted, first, for contempt and perjury, and, finally, for murder. Three of them went to the penitentiary for life. Their scheme involved the occupation of the land under forged deeds, the cutting of timber, etc., and finally murder of the agent of the property—one Colonel Forsythe. The general agent of the Department at Washington was sent to Macon to secure complete justice against these persistent offenders.

Successful war has been waged upon the unprincipled fellows of Alabama and other States who were in the habit of plundering the Government by means of prosecutions instituted and carried just far enough to make fees, but not to stop the offense in vogue. The Department has refused to commence suits to set aside patents long since issued, and in any way to disturb old titles, except in cases where the public interest imperatively demanded that such litigation be undertaken. The Government cannot be "used" under this Administration.

#### MR. MILLER'S SUCCESES BEFORE THE COURTS.

A large majority of the cases argued before the Supreme Court have been decided in favor of the Government. The Supreme Court docket has been cleared of cases out of place there. The establishment of the Circuit Court of Appeals was another triumph of the Fifty-second Congress, and one heartily applauded by the bar of the nation. President Harrison's appointments of Judges for this and other benches have been ideal. Mr. Cleveland's judicial appointments were disappointing, and some of them bad. This new Court relieves the Supreme Court, which is years behind in its work, and provides against further justice being side-tracked or wholly unattainable through interminable delays.

#### NEW JUDICIAL METHODS.

In the Circuit and District Courts methods have been approved, and irregularities, due to negligence under Democratic rule, in large measure corrected. Some six thousand war claims cases are now pending, each one of which is examined with the same thoroughness as is bestowed in private litigation. Greater stress is laid on the loyalty of claimants, especially in claims coming from the South. Last year the Department of Justice caused to be dismissed from the dockets of this Court between four and five hundred cases involving claims against the Government aggregating over two million dollars.



# AGRICULTURAL DEPARTMENT.

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## How the Five Million Farmers of the Land Have Been Served.

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Their Products Borne Successfully Into Every  
Foreign Market—New Agricultural Oppor-  
tunities Developed—Cattle Disease  
Stamped Out—Communicating  
with the People.

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There are about 5,000,000 farmers in the United States and with their families and laborers they constitute nearly one-half the population of the Union. The earnest work done for this vast body of the people has frequently led to the denunciation of the Harrison Administration by the Democracy as a "Farmers' Government." Gladly the contemptuous fling is accepted as a title of distinction by the Republican party, whose pioneers thirty-five years ago were largely recruited by tillers of the soil.

At the time the present Administration came into power profound depression seemed to be the prevailing sentiment among the farmers. A slight but steady diminution in the prices of most of the staple agricultural products had been going on for some years. During the very first year of President Harrison's Administration, however, the adverse agricultural current which seemed to threaten the country's prosperity was arrested—indeed, it was turned back, and the future once more holds out bright promises to the American farmer.

### A HAPPY CHOICE IN "UNCLE JERRY" RUSK!

The first step taken by President Harrison was the choice of Hon. J. M. Rusk as Secretary of Agriculture. This official's success is the talk of the nation. Hitherto the Agricultural Department had been regarded with indifference, or, what was worse, good-natured contempt. All this has been changed. Realizing that his nominee would be practically the first Secretary of Agriculture of the United States, and that upon him would devolve the responsibility of showing to the country whether the elevation of the Department to its present rank was a wise or unwise measure, President Harrison chose for this portfolio a man of affairs, endowed with exceptional good sense, with energy and perseverance, in thorough sympathy with farmers in all their pursuits.

### OPENING FOREIGN MARKETS TO AMERICAN MEATS.

In the promotion of the live-stock interests the Harrison Administration has scored a notable triumph. When it came into power, vexatious restrictions, and in some

countries prolonged quarantine, discouraged and hampered exporters of live stock, while the meat trade, especially that in pork—of the utmost importance to the greatest number of farmers—was practically strangled by oppressive regulations and costly inspections abroad, and, in the case of pork, by absolute prohibition in most of the countries of Europe. The growth of the pork trade, so thriving during the seventies, was pitifully reduced during the following decade, and there was a disastrous glut of the home market.

But it was not to continue through the Harrison Administration. An admirable system of inspection has been devised in the teeth of opposition, and with no dearth of skepticism as to results. Restrictions against the admittance of American pork have been removed by the following European countries: Germany, September 3 1891; Denmark, September 8, 1891; Italy, October 17, 1891; Austria, December 4, 1891; France, December 5, 1891; Spain, May 21, 1892. From September, 1891, to April, 1892, more than 30,000,000 pounds of inspected pork have been exported. This prosperity reminds the producers of the good old days before 1881. By that time foreign countries had absolutely refused our hog products. In the years in which these prohibitions were enacted our export trade absorbed 46.5 per cent. of the entire quantity turned out by the packing houses of the United States.

So with cattle. It was estimated that the requirement of immediate slaughter by Great Britain depreciated the price of American cattle in that market from \$10 to \$15 per head as compared with Canadian bullocks admitted without restriction. This meant, for the period during which the prohibition had been enforced, a direct loss abroad certainly of \$4,000,000; and, the depression affecting the price of every steer marketed in the United States, the home loss has been estimated at \$25,000,000 annually. The Republican Administration took hold of this matter vigorously and sagaciously. The allegations of the existence of disease among American cattle—often falsely made by foreigners to justify the restrictions which made the trade unprofitable—have been disproved when false; and a tireless fight waged for the extirpation of pleuropneumonia in the one or two comparatively insignificant sections of the country where this menace to the cattle interests could be discovered. This task was tremendous. It involved co-inspection by representatives of the Department in Great Britain of all animals inspected by the British authorities, inspection on this side of all animals shipped abroad, and a system of numbering and tagging some 400,000 animals, so that any alleged case of disease could be traced from its original source.

#### THE WONDERFUL INSPECTION SERVICE.

Under the present Administration all this vast amount of work has been undertaken and carried out; so successfully, indeed, that on the single item of insurance of cattle in transit, shippers are saving annually \$2,000,000 on the prices paid three or four years ago. An idea of a part of the labor of this bureau can be obtained when it is known

that in two years it inspected 59,483 herds, 594,417 animals; tagged 102,801; purchased and killed 4,440; has made 103,145 *post mortem* examinations and disinfected 7,966 premises. Not a case of the dreaded disease has been found in any part of the country where it previously existed during the last twelve months, with the single exception of one county in New Jersey, and there over two months have elapsed without a new case having been discovered.

Yet this is a disease with which Great Britain and many other countries have been unsuccessfully coping for forty and fifty years, with the result that many authorities declare that its thorough extirpation is impossible.

Of the new markets opened to American farmers by this Administration, mention is made elsewhere. The investigation of the resources and conditions of other countries which might be made available as markets for our surplus crops has fallen largely to the Agricultural Department. The introduction of our American indian corn into Great Britain, and Germany especially, for use as human food, gives promise that before the present Administration closes an American product hardly known abroad, save as a cheap substitute for cattle feed, will be in demand all over Europe as a cheap and nutritious substitute for other cereal foods. No longer will an abundant corn crop mean distressingly low prices. In the last decade but four per cent. of the crop has gone abroad. Better things ahead!

#### NEW OPPORTUNITIES FOR FARMERS.

The policy of this Administration, as regards the food supply of the nation, is to have our own farmers produce it. It is a matter of surprise to many to find that every year American consumers pay to foreigners between \$250,000,000 and \$275,000,000 for farm products which can and ought to be successfully grown on American soil to the profit of the American farmers. For instance, the Administration has revived the courage and energy of American sugar producers. Why **should** every living American be levied upon to the extent of \$1.60 annually to support the foreign sugar-producing industry? The Department of Agriculture has found scores of incidental ways to prove useful to the farmer and the country. New methods have been developed by which the farmer is now enabled to save a large portion of his fruit crop from the ravages of insect pests or plant diseases, and so with his cereal crops, his cotton, potatoes, hops and tobacco.

The destruction of the fluted scale in California by the importation of the Australian lady-bug saved the orange groves of California. The Division of Pomology has imported and distributed many new varieties of foreign fruits and seeds.

#### COMMUNICATING WITH THE PEOPLE.

The present Administration is noted for profound investigation and the most widespread diffusion of information obtained. The number of documents issued has increased in the ratio of four to one. The transfer of the

Weather Bureau from the War to the Agricultural Department was a wise achievement of this Administration. It has been followed by the multiplying of the number of voluntary observers, and by the extension of the State weather service. The reports of the Agricultural Department under Secretary Rusk are much more intelligible than any previously issued. The new series of publications called "Farmer's Bulletins" are of great value to the practical farmer. The investigation of the arid regions with reference to their irrigation by a system of artesian wells has been carried forward with success by this Administration. Zeal, system and intelligence mark the efforts of Secretary Rusk's department. The farmers of the United States will not tolerate any change of policy by another party.



# THE DEMOCRATIC RECORD.

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**A Party Which Has Neither Reformed, Nor Economized, Nor Legislated.**

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**NOTHING DONE EVEN UNDER GAG RULE.**

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**Work of the Two Houses.**

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Among the closing scenes of the first session of the Fifty-second Congress there was a bit of low comedy. There was a riotous attempt to wring from Mr. Watson, a Georgia Democrat converted to the Alliance Party, a retraction of an intemperate attack upon his associates. The single reckless passage to which objection was angrily offered might readily have been condoned in view of the transcendent merits of the epitaph which he had written on the expiring session. Never was there more truth condensed into sixty words than in this epigrammatic account of the most incapable and pretentious House which ever assembled in Washington :

**"Pledged to reform, they have not reformed. Pledged to economy, they have not economized. Pledged to legislate, they have not legislated. Extravagance has been the order of the day. Absenteeism was never so pronounced. Lack of purpose was never so clear. Lack of common business prudence never more glaring. Useless employees crowd every corridor. Useless expenditures pervade every department."**

## DEMOCRATIC PROMISES.

Never was there a House so preoccupied with a sense of its own virtues, or so possessed with a frenzy for reform, for retrenchment and for legislation. Its mission was to redeem an oppressed country from the tyranny of a Republican Czar, the rapacity of military satraps and the intrigue and chicanery of a Little Napoleon! Old things had passed away. A new order of political regeneration had come, and everything was to be changed. The rights of minorities were to be respected, the privilege of debate was to be jealously guarded as the stronghold of civil liberty, legislation was to be conducted with deliberation and decency, appropriations were to be scientifically reduced, so as to meet the bare necessities of economical administration, and the sacred cause of Tariff Reform was to be advocated with ceaseless patience and the fervor of fanaticism. Out of revolution the Democratic House had sprung. Reform was the breath of its life. The Tariff must first be destroyed, and then all things would be fulfilled!

## THE REALITY.

Such were the vaticinations of the priests of Tariff Reform and the prophets of Retrenchment when "the crusade against Republican misrule" was begun: Seven months passed and **the host of howling dervishes was in full retreat, sullen, demoralized and faction-rent.** Every policy to which it had been solemnly pledged had been either renounced or evaded. Of legislation there had been little; of economy none at all; and its achievements in reform were as disordered as Ophelia's dreams. The leadership had been in commission. There had been discordant partisanship without unity of direction or discipline in the ranks. The last days of the session witnessed **a series of filibustering raids headed by the Chairman of the Committee on Appropriations in a House where two-thirds of the members were Democrats.** From beginning to end there was a remarkable contrast between the well-ordered, industrious and united Republican House of the Fifty-first Congress and the riotous, incompetent and faction-torn Democratic House of the Fifty-second Congress.

### HOW A REPUBLICAN HOUSE WORKED.

The Republican House had enacted legislation with the precision of a well-oiled registering machine. The Customs Administrative Act had been a radical reform measure, the passage of which had been attended with extraordinary difficulty. The complex system of tariff and internal revenue law had been subjected to critical examination and thorough revision. A comprehensive Pension Act was passed for the relief of disabled veterans and their families. The largest gambling business in the world was suppressed by the Anti-Lottery Act. There was a World's Fair Bill, with an Army Promotion Bill, an Anti-Trust Law, a Meat Inspection Act, a Copyright Law, a Reapportionment Act, and an Ocean Mail Subsidy Measure. A compromise Silver Coinage Bill was enacted after protracted debates in both Houses, and another measure to refund the Direct Tax. An intermediate Court of Appeals was established, a Land Grant Forfeiture Act was passed, the Foreign Contract Law was amended, the Eight Hour Bill was enacted, two new States were admitted into the Union, and the maritime laws were revised in accordance with the recommendations of the International Conference. This magnificent record of legislative activity was made by a House wherein the balance of power lay in the hands of a dozen members.

### HOW A DEMOCRATIC HOUSE HAS NOT WORKED.

The Democratic House, with a majority so overwhelming that it could always supply a quorum from its own side, **did not enact a single measure of magnitude.** The Chinese Exclusion law, an act granting American registry to the Inman steamers, a bill authorizing retaliation against Canada, the appropriation of \$2,500,000 for the World's Fair and a series of pension

bills were the meagre fruits of a long and unprofitable session. Never in American history was there so gross an exhibition of legislative incompetence as was displayed by this Democratic House. If the leaders had any serious purpose, it was that of making a record which would be considered conservative and safe by the mass of the electors. But they lacked even the intelligence required for producing a plausible party programme.

#### TARIFF POP GUNS.

The leaders sought to make themselves useful to the "Tariff Reform" cause; but they did not know how to do it. The Democratic House, with its overwhelming majority, did not lack power. If it had repealed the McKinley Act and enacted in its place the Mills bill revised on broad lines, it would have fulfilled its principal pledge to the country. In that way it would have presented a clear and intelligible issue in the elections of this year. Both courage and capacity were lacking. What was flaunted East and West as the "High Tariff Waterloo" had been fought; but no sooner was the "Low Tariff victory" won than something like a retreat was sounded with the random firing of pop-gun artillery. The Democratic House, after a fierce struggle over the leadership, revealed its inability to deal with the Tariff Question as a whole in an intelligent, coherent manner. Tariff hole-punching became the recreation of small minds.

#### A SILLY POLITICAL GAME.

Nothing could have been more puerile or insincere than the tariff policy of the Democratic majority. A Republican Congress had done its work thoroughly and scientifically. Not only had a great impulse been imparted to the industries of the nation, but the surplus revenues of the Government had also been reduced so heavily that a deficit in income was not impossible, though highly improbable. The Democratic leaders recklessly declared that the nation was on the verge of bankruptcy, and that the Secretary of the Treasury was deceiving the public with misleading statements; yet, even while they were gloating over the prospect of exhaustion of revenues, they proposed revenue legislation which, according to their own calculations, would deprive the Government of \$50,000,000 or \$60,000,000 a year. A free wool and woolen bill was passed, and was followed by another repeal bill placing cotton ties, gins and bagging on the free list; and a third, repealing the duties on binding twine. Subsequently, bills reducing the duties on tin-plate and lead ores were forced through the House under pressure of gag rule. Nothing could have been more childish than the passage of a few illogical and unconnected repeal bills when there were no surplus revenues to be reduced, as there had been before the McKinley Bill was passed. The Democracy was playing a silly little political game at a time when it ought to have been at work upon a large measure of tariff revision as an alternative policy for the McKinley Act.



## GAG RULE ADOPTED.

Barren as were the results of Democratic legislation, even the little that was done had to be carried through the House under high pressure. "The tyranny of the Czar" was so good a phrase that the leaders were reluctant to take the edge from it by adopting the rules of the Republican House, by which partisan obstruction had been paralyzed, and even a small majority had been enabled to dispatch public business. The Democratic majority was so large that it thought it could afford to allow the minority old-time privileges. The leaders affected great regard for minority rights and freedom of debate, and ostentatiously declined to follow "the evil precedents" of Speaker Reed's management of the House. Long before the session ended, the new rules were generally admitted to be a failure. The debates were more disorderly, and the blocks in business more frequent than ever before. Time has been wasted on roll-calls and trivial discussion. In place of freedom of debate there has been unlicensed filibustering and obstruction, all carried on by Democrats themselves against Democratic measures, and all the measures of any importance have been railroaded through the House under suspension of the rules and by sheer strength of numbers. Even while they were still mouthing phrases about "the ukases of the Czar from Maine" and "the tyranny of gag law," they were themselves registering the arbitrary decrees of the Committee on Rules, having recourse to unscrupulous suppression of debate and, enacting measures with precipitate haste and utterly without deliberation.

## EXAMPLES OF GAG LAW.

The Legislative, Executive and Judicial Appropriation Bill, covering thousands of items, containing 150,000 words and **carrying \$22,000,000, was carried with fifteen minutes' debate on each side.** Bills for the admission of Arizona and New Mexico were passed with only half an hour of debate allowed for each. On the same day the Anti-Option bill was hustled through the House with fifteen minutes for discussion on each side. This was a measure which might disorganize the commerce of the world, yet it was driven through the House virtually without debate, although a prominent leader on the Democratic side found time to denounce it as unconstitutional. The second series of tariff-repeal bills were railroaded through the House without discussion. Rules which had received the approval of the collective wisdom of a Democratic caucus were practically suspended before the close of the session. The Democratic majority were bound hand and foot by their own regulations and unable to transact business. Even when a vote had been obtained upon the appropriation for the World's Fair, it was possible for Mr. Holman to lead an insurrection against the majority, and, after blocking business for two weeks, to dictate a compromise to a Democratic caucus. Even then it was necessary to imitate closely the procedure of the last Republican House in order to extricate the majority from their embarrassments.



## RULES OF THE TWO HOUSES.

Under Speaker Reed's rules legislative paralysis had been removed, business was transacted in an orderly way and the House had full control over its time. Under Democratic organization faction ran riot, deliberate legislation was impracticable, gag law regulated debate, and business could only be transacted by the suspension of all rules passed for the protection of the minority.

## REPUDIATION OF PLEDGES.

The record of the last Republican Congress involved conscientious fulfillment of pledges made to the people when President Harrison was elected. On the tariff, silver, pensions, shipping and other great questions of the day **the Republican party, through its Representatives at Washington, kept faith with the country.** There was no repudiation of pledges on that side. On the Democratic side there has not been a pledge that has been respected and fulfilled. A revision of the tariff was promised, and nothing has been accomplished beyond the firing of a series of pop-gun salutes in honor of "Tariff Reform." Another measure to which the Democratic majority was pledged was a Free Coinage bill. Twice, within a period of four months, this pledge was violated out of deference for the timorous representatives of the party from the Eastern States. Retrenchment of the cost of National Administration was another Democratic promise, and it has been **redeemed by the increase of appropriations far beyond the level of the so-called "Billion Dollar Congress."** Reciprocity was to be renounced, the sugar bounties were to be cut off, the Ocean Mail bill was to be repealed, and many other characteristic Republican policies were to be overthrown. The Democratic Party was pledged to do all these things, but nothing has been done. **Every promise has gone to protest.** There has been a little desultory bushwhacking against the Tariff, and there has been a wild revel of Democratic extravagance in appropriations. Of legislation of any kind, destructive or constructive, there has been a bottomless deficiency. Of reckless financial grants there has been an overrunning surplus.

## REBEL WAR CLAIMS.

The payment of Confederate war claims is already looming up as one of the ulterior aims of Democratic policy. While the House has only acted on a few of these cases, what it has done is an earnest of what it will do in the future. **By releasing the Sibley case from the statute of limitations it has allowed the heirs of an officer who deserted the United States Army in order to join the Confederates to collect a royalty on tents used in the war wherein he was enlisted.** There is a precedent in that case which shows the trend of Democratic tendency. The Committee on War Claims **have reported favorably upon more than \$70,000,000 of similar claims for damages by destruction of property in the**

war. In addition to this new budget there are cases already before the Court of Claims aggregating \$400,000,000 at the lowest, and \$600,000,000 at the highest, estimate. The sympathy shown for these cases by a party which has antagonized the Pension policy of the last Republican Congress has drawn from Ex-Speaker Reed this sententious comment: "If the Democracy have adopted what one of their own men calls a pop-gun system of tariff reform, their Committee on War Claims have started a Gatling-gun system of war claims."

#### A PARTY OF REPUDIATION.

The record of the Democratic House proves that every one of the leading issues of the party has been either repudiated outright or temporarily abandoned. Every promise made in 1890 has been broken. The revision of the Tariff, the passage of a Free Silver Act, the reduction of the expenditures of the Government, the repudiation of the Reciprocity policy and the repeal of the Bounty and Subsidy acts have been deferred for a more convenient season when a Presidential election is not pending. **Never has there been a more discreditable record of violated pledges in American public life.** The causes of failure are various—such as factional divisions in the party, incapacity of leaders to deal with large questions, a lack of civic courage in making a resolute stand for party principles, and the clash of rivalry in the ambitions of leaders who were afraid to trust the people and fancied that they could deceive them with shuffling evasions.

#### INACTION, BUT NO CHANGE OF HEART.

But while pledges have been repudiated, and the course of legislative activity opened by the courage of the last Republican House has been interrupted, the attitude of the Democratic party towards the great questions of the day has not been changed. Inaction and legislative torpor are not proofs of a change of heart. The McKinley Act has not been repealed, but the Democratic party is arrayed in deadly hostility to the American policy of Protection. Its misshapen, inoperative tariff bills do not indicate abandonment of the English low-tariff theory. The party is merely waiting until it can destroy the protective system by the passage of such a measure as the Mills bill. Evasions of the silver question do not signify conversion to sound views of finance. The opposition to Republican policies of Reciprocity, bounties for sugar producers, and subsidies for ocean mail service, has been temporarily relaxed, but the hostility of the Democratic party to every one of these measures remains implacable and irreconcilable. **The Democracy has a fatal facility for getting on the foreign side of every great public question.** The policies which it represents are those which Europeans are anxious to have Americans adopt. To these policies it clings with that Bourbon fixedness of purpose which neither learns nor forgets anything.

## THE REPUBLICAN RECORD.

The last Republican Congress stood exclusively for American policies and interests. A united party under the inspiring leadership of Speaker Reed and Major McKinley labored with unceasing fidelity and high-minded patriotism to promote the welfare of the nation. When its authority to govern the country was challenged by Democratic obstructionists in the House, it vindicated the American principle of majority rule. Democratic conspirators had proclaimed their deliberate intention of preventing any and all legislation in the line of Republican policies. They had been sent to Washington to transact the business of the country, and sitting silent in their seats when the roll was called they attempted to thwart the will of the majority of the American people and to paralyze legislation. The conspiracy was suppressed with the same courage with which rebellion had been crushed in an earlier generation, but by wholly constitutional means. Speaker Reed by his famous ruling counted them when they were present and restored the functions of the House as a working body. That was the "crime" for which he was denounced on every Democratic platform. **It was the enforcement of the supreme principle of majority rule.**

### WORKING FOR NATIONAL POLICIES.

The sun shone and Republican legislators worked. They had made their pledges to the American people and every one of them was honored. If they failed to establish honest elections throughout the Union, it was through no fault of their own, but solely because the forces of obstruction in the Senate were too well organized to permit the passage of a just and righteous law in a session of extraordinary legislative activity. Their record on the Tariff question disproved the charge of sectionalism, for they had labored with patriotic ardor to promote the industrial prosperity of all the States, South as well as North. Republican policy in the Fifty-first Congress was in the most comprehensive sense national. As a record of legislative activity and broad-minded statesmanship it is unexampled in American history. Opposed to it is the record of the Democratic House of the Fifty-second Congress—the imbecile and scandalous record of a party which could neither reform, nor economize nor legislate, nor even succeed in transacting business with a two-thirds majority without gag-rule and riotous tumult.

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# AGAINST THE WORLD'S FAIR.

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## Unblushing Repudiation of Pledges Made at the Chicago Convention.

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### REPUBLICANS MEAN WHAT THEY SAY, BUT DEMOCRATS DO NOT.

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Both political parties in their national Platforms took high ground in favor of the Columbian Exposition. One party meant what it said and the other did not. The Republican Party described it with simplicity as a great national undertaking, and declared that "Congress should promptly enact such reasonable legislation in aid thereof as will insure the discharging of the expense and obligations incident thereto and the attainment of results commensurate with the dignity and progress of the nation." That was the party pledge, and it was carried out in good faith within two months at Washington by Republican Senators and Representatives. The Democratic platform was equally emphatic in its approval of the enterprise. "Recognizing," it declared in high-sounding phrase, "that the World's Columbian Exposition is a national undertaking of vast importance in which the General Government has invited the co-operation of all the Powers of the World, and appreciating the acceptance of such Powers of the invitation extended and the broadest liberal efforts being made by them to contribute to the grandeur of the undertaking, we are of the opinion that Congress should make such necessary financial provision as shall be requisite to the maintenance of the national honor and public faith." That, too, was a party pledge, but it was promptly repudiated by the Democratic House.

#### FIVE MILLIONS NEEDED.

The World's Fair was organized under an Act of Congress passed on April 25, 1890. After the question of the site was settled, there was no occasion for local, sectional or political prejudice against it. Public opinion was behind it. Every consideration of business enterprise; civic pride, hospitality to the invited guests of the Nation and enlightened self-interest required that the Fair should be worthy of the resources and fame of the American people. Chicago had agreed to raise \$10,000,000 for the enterprise. This was done, and the work was entered upon with a strong, intelligent, artistic purpose. A series of buildings was planned that would be grander, more costly and more appropriate than those erected for any previous World's Fair. The scheme increased in magnitude until it embraced an inclosure at Chicago equal in area to that of the



Paris and Philadelphia Expositions combined. There were no scandals connected with the Fair, and the results were satisfactory from every point of view; but it was found to be necessary to expend more money upon the buildings and grounds than had been originally intended. Accordingly, an appeal for a contribution of \$5,000,000 was made to Congress, which had authorized an appropriation of only \$1,500,000 for a Government exhibit.

#### ACTION UPON THE MESSAGE.

The appeal was submitted to Congress by President Harrison with the recommendation that just and reasonable support should not be withheld from an enterprise to which the honor of the nation was committed. "Liberality on the part of the United States," he said, "is due to the foreign nations that have responded in a friendly way to the invitation of this Government to participate in the Exposition, and will, I am sure, meet the approval of our people. The Exposition will be one of the most illustrious incidents in our civic history." While this message was sent to Congress as early as February 24, 1892, action upon it was deferred in the House, although a bill appropriating \$5,000,000 in the form of souvenirs made from abraded coins in the Treasury was placed on the calendar, where it would not have been reached during the session. The Senate under Republican leadership, and in the face of Democratic protests from the House, incorporated the principle of this bill with other provisions in a series of amendments to the Sundry Civil Appropriation bill, thereby securing action upon it by the House. The amendments when they reached the House received the unanimous support of the Republican minority, but excited a storm of Democratic resentment and fury.

#### DEMOCRATIC INSINCERITY UNMASKED.

The speeches and votes of the Democratic majority during the protracted struggle were an illuminating commentary upon the sincerity of the party which had declared at Chicago that "Congress should make such necessary financial provision as shall be requisite to the maintenance of the national honor and public faith." A powerful combination headed by Mr. Holman made a determined effort to defeat the appropriation at all hazards. Day after day there were fierce assaults upon the management of the enterprise. One Democrat after another asserted that it was unconstitutional and bad policy, even if the Treasury were overflowing with surplus revenues, "to collect money from the people by taxation and then lend it to either a corporation or an individual. Even when there was perfunctory praise of Chicago and measured commendation of the World's Fair, these economists and constitutional quibblers sought by their arguments, as one of the Republican champions of the amendments declared, to assassinate the national character of the enterprise and to reduce it to a local and municipal affair. "Looting of the Treasury," "public robbery" and "stock-jobbing operation" were the favorite phrases on the Democratic side. The proposed appropriation was

condemned as a Western speculation supported by a venal lobby at Washington recruited from Government officials and "the heel-taps of former Houses." No language appeared to be too coarse or too violent for use on the Democratic side.

#### COARSE ABUSE OF THE FAIR.

"How are the Democratic representatives," asked Mr. Bland, "to go before their constituents as the agents and abettors of a job and a steal, for that is all it is?" "In reality," Mr. Little declared, "you are now asked to vote five millions of the people's money in order to afford collateral security to the people of Chicago for two or three millions of dollars." Mr. Sayers denounced it as "one of the most audacious pieces of legislation" ever attempted in the House. Mr. Oates sneered at Government partnership "in the show business." Mr. Butler, of Iowa, characterized the scheme as "conceived in dishonesty and impregnated with fraud." Mr. Cummings compared the lobbyists to swarms of grasshoppers that stop the wheels of railroad trains on the prairies. "They are here," he asserted, "in the shape of World's Fair officials, drawing sustenance from the public Treasury, and they are here in the shape of men, women and children from Chicago, all trying to loot the Treasury." Mr. Otis, of the Farmers' Alliance, considered it to be "one of the most gigantic swindles ever perpetrated upon Congress." Mr. Bailey opposed the appropriation as "legislative burglary," and when a compromise was effected described his Democratic colleagues as bound hand and foot and delivered "to the merciless greed of a private corporation," despoiling the public Treasury.

#### STRUGGLING AGAINST THE FAIR.

With insults and affronts, such as these the Democratic majority persevered in its warfare upon the World's Fair, until the wheels of Government were on the point of stopping. When the five-million clause was first presented to the House, it was defeated by a majority of 13, every Republican voting for it. When it was returned to the House from a conference committee, it was carried by a vote of 117 to 105. Out of 235 Democrats, only 63 voted for it; but, with 54 Republican members, a majority was secured. Although vanquished, the opponents of the World's Fair would not yield. After moving to reconsider the vote, they followed Mr. Holman into a fortnight's filibustering campaign, at the end of which a Democratic caucus was called, and a compromise was arranged by which the Senate amendments to the Appropriation Act were dropped, and the original House bill, with the \$5,000,000 cut down to \$2,500,000, was substituted for them. The extraordinary spectacle was thus witnessed of a surrender of the majority of the House, who had voted for the Senate amendments, to the minority who had defied their authority. The attitude of the Republican members throughout these proceedings was uncompromising. Not one speech was made nor one vote given on that side against the great National enterprise. It was, through the action of the Republican Senate, forced upon

the attention of the House, and it was through the unwavering support of the Republican minority that even the reduced appropriation was carried through Congress.

#### ENEMIES OF THE FAIR.

The filibustering operations were brought to an end, not because the Democratic majority relaxed their opposition to the World's Fair, but because they were forced to extricate themselves from the embarrassment of having practically blocked the business of the Government by hanging up one of the great appropriation bills. The pretense of devotion to constitutional principles did not stand in the way of their compromising with their convictions at fifty cents on the dollar, since they finally consented to allow the World's Fair \$2,500,000 of the \$5,000,000 which had been asked. The scandalous scenes in the House virtually involved a repudiation of the party pledge made a few weeks before at Chicago. As actions speak louder than words, the Democracy through its Representatives in the Fifty-second Congress has earned the righteous enmity of every friend of the great national enterprise which is destined to be a source of glory and honor to the country, to promote the commercial prosperity of the American people, and to elevate and advance the civilization of the world.

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#### Enlightened Self-Interest.

For the present the world is divided into separate nationalities, and that Divine command still applies: "He that provideth not for his own household has denied the faith and is worse than an infidel." And till that era arrives described by the gentleman from Virginia, patriotism must supply the place of universal brotherhood. For the present Gortchakoff can do more good for the world by taking care of Russia. The great Bismarck can accomplish more for his era by being, as he is, a German to the core and promoting the welfare of the German Empire. Let Beaconsfield take care of England and McMahon take care of France, and let Americans devote themselves to the welfare of America. When each does his part for his own nation to promote prosperity, justice and peace, all will have done more for the world than if all had attempted to be cosmopolitans rather than patriots.

—JAMES A. GARFIELD.



# OVER A BILLION.

## Forty-four Millions Added to the Appropriations by Democratic "Economy."

### COLLAPSE OF A CAMPAIGN OF DEFAMATION.

#### Retrenchment a Costly Sham.

The most disastrous failure of the Democracy has been the collapse of such reputation as it had for retrenchment and economy. It was a cheap reputation. A party that obstructs national progress and industrial policies and raises a loud outcry against "paternalism in government" whenever legislation of a creative order is proposed, naturally has a bent for economy. From the time of Jefferson it has advocated the restriction of taxation "to the necessities of the Government when honestly and economically administered." In accordance with this traditional policy, every Democratic House has made a practice of cutting down appropriations for national expenditures, and of making a specious show of retrenchment even when it has been necessary to withhold supplies so as to swell the deficiencies another year. As economy has been its chief stock in political trade for many years, the Democracy can ill afford to be convicted of reckless prodigality in national expenditures. That is what has happened this year. The Democracy has been found out.

#### DEFAMERS SELF-CONVICTED.

What has rendered this exposure disastrous has been the hue and cry raised two years ago over the "Billion Dollar Congress." From every Democratic platform the Republican party was denounced for its wanton extravagance. In that campaign of defamation partisan orators were never weary of enlarging upon the wastefulness of Republican legislation and administration. The "Billion Dollar Congress" was a libel which matched the lies about "McKinley prices" and the tyranny of "the Republican Czar." When a Democratic Congress was elected, the country was heartily congratulated upon being released from the ruinous financial speculations of "a spendthrift Republican House." With Mr. Holman to hold the purse-strings of the nation, it was confidently assumed on that side that the appropriations would be reduced to the extent of \$100,000,000. That was his own forecast; and there were half-trained and loud-barking watchdogs of the Treasury who predicted a saving of \$150,000,000 as the result of the election of a Democratic House. The Presidential election was approaching, and there was a grand chance for making a record for frugal administration, which would favorably impress voters. Then the changes would be rung once more upon the "Billion Dollar Con-



gress," and the Government would be handed over to the party which was pledged to conduct the Administration with economy and frugality !

### WHICH IS THE SPENDTHRIFT ?

This was the Democratic Plan of Campaign, and the best results were expected from it. Mr. Holman had the cordial co-operation of all his political associates in his great work of knocking the millions out of the National Budget. The surplus revenues had been drained off; there was no pressure brought to bear upon Congress for expenditures in any new directions; and there was apparently nothing to prevent a large shrinkage in the appropriations. Indeed, if calamity howlers were to be believed, there was a most urgent necessity for reducing expenditures, since there was a strong probability of a deficiency in income. Mr. Holman had everything in his favor, but he has failed to redeem the pledges of his party. It is a striking illustration of the sheer incapacity of the Democratic party to succeed in anything which it undertakes. The House continued to pile up the appropriations, and for a long time nobody on the Democratic side seemed to be keeping tally of them. Suddenly there was consternation. The appropriations were overtopping those of the "Billion Dollar Congress." Desperate efforts were made to lighten the ship so that it would float in shallower water, but without avail. The appropriations had become unmanageable. Not even Mr. Holman could keep them down. When the columns were balanced at the end of the session, it was found that the Democratic House had exceeded by \$44,302,869.78 the limit of that "wasteful and spendthrift" Republican House whose enormities had been held up for public execration for two years. The following exhibit explains itself :

THE BILLION DOLLAR HOUSES.

Title of Bill.	Democratic House, First Session.	Republican House, First Session.
Agricultural.....	\$3,232,995 50	\$1,799,100 00
Army.....	24,308,499 82	24,206,471 79
Diplomatic and Consular....	1,604,045 00	1,710,815 00
District of Columbia.....	5,323,414 27	5,769,544 15
Fortifications.....	2,734,276 00	4,232,935 00
Indian.....	7,664,047 84	7,262,016 02
Legislative.....	21,899,252 97	21,030,752 75
Military Academy.....	423,917 33	435,296 11
Navy.....	23,543,385 00	24,136,035 53
Pensions.....	154,411,682 00	123,779,368 35
Post-Office.....	80,331,876 73	72,226,698 99
River and Harbor.....	21,153,618 00	25,136,295 00
Sundry Civil.....	27,837,228 93	29,738,282 22
Total.....	\$374,473,239 39	\$341,463,610 91
Deficiencies.....	8,211,261 18	13,295,541 61
Miscellaneous.....	3,153,000 00	7,010,905 27
<b>Total Regular Annual Appropriations.....</b>	<b>\$385,837,500 57</b>	<b>\$361,770,057 79</b>
<b>Permanent Annual Appropriations....</b>	<b>121,863,880 00</b>	<b>101,628,453 00</b>
<b>Grand Total Appropriations.....</b>	<b>\$507,701,380 57</b>	<b>\$463,398,510 79</b>
<b>Increase.....</b>	<b>\$44,302,869 78</b>	

## LEGISLATING FOR DEFICIENCIES.

In order to complete this comparison several large amounts must be added to the total appropriations made by the Democratic House of the Fifty-second Congress. These are expenditures for which contracts are authorized. Thus the contracts on account of river and harbor improvements amounted to \$31,760,521, making the actual aggregate of the River and Harbor Act, \$52,914,139. Contracts were also authorized requiring the expenditure of \$640,000 for materials for the new building for the Library of Congress. This amount was not included in the aggregate of the Sundry Civil Bill. The construction of two new war vessels was authorized without the appropriation of a dollar for them on current account. It was the deliberate intention of the Democratic House to conceal the real aggregate of expenditures authorized and to evade immediate responsibility for its prodigality. Senator Allison gave prompt warning that unusual deficiencies would have to be provided for another winter as the inevitable consequence of placing Congress under bonds to meet obligations contracted, but temporarily evaded by "the prudent and economical" Holman and his associate "reformers." Recourse was had to every artifice and trick known to professional economists in order to obscure the record of Democratic extravagance and to run up the deficiency account at the second session. Still, with all these shuffling evasions, the record remains black enough to convict the Democratic Party of canting hypocrisy in its campaign of defamation against the last Republican House.

## POLITICAL INCAPACITY REVEALED.

With a balance of \$44,302,869.78 against them in this comparison of the appropriations of the Fifty-first and Fifty-second Congress, the Democratic leaders have sought to saddle upon the Republican Senate the responsibility for the increase of the appropriations. This cannot be true, unless the House has abrogated its constitutional privilege of initiating financial legislation for current supply. Every increase proposed by the Senate was necessary, either to prevent the piling up of deficiencies for the second session or else to maintain various branches of the public service in operation. From the outset Mr. Holman and his confederates were fighting for the last cause of Democratic economy without being conscious that it was a hopeless struggle. They were laboring against invincible tendencies, yet persevered in their folly, blind and stubborn to the end. There had been a vague notion among "economists" of the Holman type that the expenditures of the National Government could be held to a fixed basis without reference to the growth of the country and its increase in population. They were ignorant and stupid legislators as well as dishonest partisans. They could not perceive that government "on the cheap" was impossible when the country was increasing in power, resources and population hand over hand.

## THE REPUBLICAN RECORD.

The last Republican Congress, which was mercilessly criticised for extravagance by Democratic demagogues, had to settle deficiencies amounting to \$50,000,000 incurred under the legislation of the previous Congress. When these arrears were discharged, the highest debt of honor the nation was owing was generously paid. That was the obligation of making suitable provision in pension legislation for dependent veterans and their families. Other increases in appropriations were ordered to meet the requirements of national policy, such as harbor defenses, the new navy, internal improvements and the World's Fair, or, else, to promote the efficiency of the public service, and, especially, of the Post-Office, Indian Bureau and Census. Large as the appropriations of the Republican Congress were, the bulk of the increase was for Democratic deficiencies and soldiers' pensions, and the remainder was naturally involved by the development of the country. By suspending the process of debt-paying, President Cleveland had artificially created his so-called surplus as a pretext for breaking down the tariff. An overflowing Treasury naturally involved increasing expenditures. As Mr. Reed has remarked, "it is the tendency of piled-up money to scatter." Great national interests which had been neglected when there was more urgent need of economy were promoted. There was an expansion of many branches of the public service. Harbor improvements were undertaken on a large scale. Many greatly needed public buildings were ordered. All the conditions were favorable for an increase in the expenditures of a great and prosperous country.

## THE DEMOCRATIC RECORD.

When the Fifty-second Congress assembled, the conditions had materially altered. A Republican Administration had resumed the process of debt-paying which had been unnecessarily interrupted during President Cleveland's term. The current revenues had been largely reduced by the revision of the Tariff. Mr. Holman was brought face to face with the fact that the surplus had disappeared and that the revenues only sufficed for economical administration of the National Government. He was not compelled to resist any undue pressure for the increase of expenditures. His party associates recognized the political necessity for making a party record for economy, and lent their moral aid to his ostentatious campaign of retrenchment. He had promised to cut down the Republican figures by at least \$100,000,000. They were all under pledge to support him in a policy of closely calculated economy. All the superficial conditions favored a very large reduction of the budget; but the tendencies of a Billion-Dollar country were as irresistible as Democratic appetite was insatiable. The appropriations instead of being scaled down were heavily increased. The Cheap Johns of the Democratic House were revealed in their true character as Spendthrift Financiers.



## TRUE INWARDNESS OF "REFORM."

Not only were the appropriations run up far above the level of the Republican Congress, but the increase was ordered under conditions which must inevitably involve a greatly enlarged aggregate for the Fifty-second Congress in order to meet deficiencies and to provide the means for carrying out legislation which has been postponed for partisan reasons until next winter. Senator Allison has pointed out one instance in which a large appropriation has been cut down one-half with the understanding that the other half shall be covered by the next year's Deficiency bill. That method of "economy" is characteristic of the Democratic Party, and it has been largely employed in a desperate but unsuccessful attempt to produce political capital in a Presidential year. Moreover, elaborate preparations have been made for raiding the Treasury when the exigencies of a political canvass conducted on sham issues of reform shall have passed. Large appropriations have been favorably reported by committees and hung up until the second session, when it will be safe to act upon them. More than sixty bills carrying appropriations for new public buildings have been sidetracked to await the passage of the Presidential election train. A meritorious measure providing for the erection of sixty lighthouses and the establishment of fog-signal stations has been shunted off the track and held over until another winter. These are samples of a "retrenchment" policy which has already carried appropriations \$44,302,869.78 beyond the record of the first session of the "Billion Dollar Congress," and opened the floodgates for deferred legislation and a cumulative drift of deficiencies at the second session.

### A FRAUD EXPOSED.

The Democracy is not a party of retrenchment and reform. Its own record of violated pledges condemns it. Its own dishonorable career of miscalculated financial mismanagement quashes its indictment of the "Billion Dollar Congress." Its own revels of prodigal extravagance menace the country with a deficiency of income another year. A spendthrift party masquerading under the guise of thrift and carefulness has been found out.

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# THE TARIFF QUESTION.

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Never Before Has the Issue Been so  
Sharply Defined.

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DEMOCRATS OFFER FREE TRADE PURE  
AND SIMPLE.

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They Say Protection is Unconstitutional.

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For thirty years the Republican party has favored Protection. For more than sixty years the Democratic party has opposed every protective tariff, by threats of nullification caused compromise or the gradual reduction of 1832, and, when it came into power, by pretending to favor "Polk, Dallas and the tariff of '42," it repealed the tariff of 1842, substituted the horizontal tariff of 1846, and has voted against every protective tariff adopted since 1860. The position of the two parties is not determined alone by their platforms, and yet is determined more clearly than ever before by the platforms this year. **The Republican Platform declares unequivocally for Protection, and for sufficient Protection to maintain the American standard of wages for labor.** There is no room to dispute about its meaning, unless the claim is set up that Protection is justified only to the extent of the ascertained difference between wages of labor in a particular occupation at a given time in this and in other countries. The purpose of a protective tariff is to afford sufficient protection when labor is especially depressed abroad, as well as when it is best paid, and thus to prevent the prostration of industry here in consequence of prostration in other countries.

## THE REPUBLICAN TARIFF PLANK.

The language of the Republican Platform is:

"We reaffirm the American doctrine of Protection. We call attention to its growth abroad. We maintain that the prosperous condition of our country is largely due to the wise revenue legislation of the Republican Congress.

"We believe that all articles which cannot be produced in the United States, except luxuries, should be admitted free of duty, and that on all imports coming into competition with the products of American labor there should be levied duties equal to the difference between wages abroad and at home.

"We assert that the prices of manufactured articles of general consumption have been reduced under the operation of the Tariff Act of 1890.

"We denounce the efforts of the Democratic majority of the House of Representatives to destroy our tariff laws

piecemeal, as is manifested by their attacks upon wool, lead and lead ores, the chief products of a number of States, and we ask the people for their judgment thereon."

#### THE REJECTED DEMOCRATIC PLANK.

The Democratic Platform, reported by the majority of committee to the National Convention, read as follows :

"We reiterate the oft-repeated doctrines of the Democratic party that the necessity of the Government is the only justification, for taxation, and whenever a tax is unnecessary it is unjustifiable; that when Custom House taxation is levied upon articles of any kind produced in this country, the difference between the cost of labor here and labor abroad, when such a difference exists, fully measures any possible benefits to labor, and the enormous additional impositions of the existing tariff fall with crushing force upon our farmers and workingmen, and, for the mere advantage of the few whom it enriches, exact from labor a grossly unjust share of the expenses of the Government; and we demand such a revision of the tariff laws as will remove their iniquitous inequalities, lighten their oppressions, and put them on a constitutional and equitable basis.

"But in making reduction in taxes it is not proposed to injure any domestic industries, but rather to promote their healthy growth. From the foundation of this Government taxes collected at the Custom House have been the chief source of Federal revenue. Such they must continue to be. Moreover, many industries have come to rely upon legislation for successful continuance, so that any change of law must be at every step regardful of the labor and capital thus involved. The process of reform must be subject in execution to this plain dictate of justice."

This resolution was **voted down** by a majority of **564 to 342**, and a tariff for revenue only was approved in form as follows :

#### THE PLANK ADOPTED AT CHICAGO.

"We denounce Republican protection as a fraud—a robbery of the great majority of the American people for the benefit of the few. We declare it to be a fundamental principle of the Democratic party that the Federal Government has no constitutional power to impose and collect tariff duties, except for the purpose of revenue only, and we demand that the collection of such taxes shall be limited to the necessities of the Government when honestly and economically administered."

#### CLEVELAND VS. JEFFERSON.

There could not be a more emphatic declaration of Democratic hostility to every degree or form of protection. The party denounces the protective policy as unconstitutional, in spite of the fact that President Washington signed, and all the framers of the Constitution advocated, the first protective tariff adopted in 1789, which was designed, as its preamble declared, "for the support of

the Government, for the discharge of the debts of the United States, and the **encouragement and protection of manufactures.**"

#### ANDREW JACKSON A PROTECTIONIST.

The Democratic declaration is in contemptuous disregard of President Jackson's statement in his annual message of 1830, for he said :

"The power to impose duties on imports originally belonged to the several States. \* \* \* This authority having thus entirely passed from the States, the right to exercise it for the purpose of protection does not exist in them ; and consequently, if it be not possessed by the General Government, it must be extinct. Our political system would thus present the anomaly of a people stripped of the right to foster their own industry and to counteract the most selfish and destructive policy which might be adopted by foreign nations. This surely cannot be the case. This indispensable power, thus surrendered by the States, must be within the scope of the authority on the subject expressly delegated to Congress. In this conclusion I am confirmed as well by the opinions of Presidents Washington, Jefferson, Madison and Monroe, who have each separately recommended the exercise of this right under the Constitution, as by the uniform practice of Congress, the continued acquiescence of the States, and the general understanding of the people."

This practice of the Government has continued to this day, for no tariff has yet been adopted without a protective element. Moreover, **the Democratic declaration is at war with a recent decision of the Supreme Court of the United States.**

#### A FREE TRADE PLATFORM.

It is a declaration hostile to protection of every degree and form. It is not more acceptable to the Eastern Democrats who want free raw materials, but protective duties on manufactured products, than to the Southern Democrats who want free wool and woollens, but protection on iron ore and pig iron. It is hostile to the development of industry everywhere, and in every branch of production with which foreigners are now able to compete. It is clearly a foreign policy, and not an American, which this party proposes. It ought to be supported, as it actually is, by foreign statesmen and journals, and not by Americans.

Thus, the mask is off. For thirty years the Democratic party has pretended to oppose only excessive protection, or unwise and improper forms of protection, and while secretly bent upon British free trade it has worn the mask of "tariff reform." **At last disguises are thrown aside.** The Democratic platform demands a tariff for revenue only, that is, a tariff which shall incidentally benefit no American industry if it can be avoided. The British tariff is framed on that principle, and raises the entire revenue by duties on articles not produced in Great Britain, or of which the production there is subject to excise. Hence the British rate of duties on dutiable imports is much higher than the rate of duties on dutiable



imports in this country; last year the British customs revenue was £19,948,213, and the dutiable imports were in value only £30,652,058, so that the rate was 65.08 per cent. But the American customs revenue for the past fiscal year was \$177,883,034, and the dutiable imports were in value \$369,400,801, so that the rate of duties on dutiable imports was 48.16. **To sweep away the American system which encourages manufactures, and maintains a high rate of wages for labor, and to substitute British free trade which would subject American labor to direct competition with the pauper labor of other countries, thus forcing down American wages, is at last the declared object of the Democratic party.**

#### FALSE PRETENSES ABANDONED.

For years there have been Democratic pretenses that duties should not be reduced beyond the rate necessary to compensate for the difference between wages here and wages in other countries. The pretense was a fraud, for in the Wood tariff of 1878, and in the Morrison tariff of 1886, and the Mills tariff of 1888, which were all supported by substantially the whole body of Democrats in Congress, the duties proposed on many articles were far below the difference between wages of labor here and in other countries. This year the false pretense is abandoned as useless, and tariff for revenue only is proposed in all its nakedness. For years Democrats have pretended in some sections that they only wanted such tariff reform as would give to manufacturers free raw materials, and therefore, it was claimed, better protection. That pretense also was a fraud, for the Democratic party well knew that it could not take off duties from wool without cutting off duties on woollens also; nor abolish duties on iron ore and pig iron of the Virginias, Alabama and Tennessee without sweeping away duties on finished iron and steel products. **This false pretense also has failed in every national contest, and at last the Democratic party chooses to fight under its true colors, those of British free trade.**

The question, therefore, is no longer whether this or that particular tariff can be improved, but whether protection of every kind and measure should be abolished. It is no longer whether there are mistakes of details, which should be corrected, but whether the national policy of defending American industries should be abandoned. **With an amazing audacity, born of its power to control the voting and returns in many States by fraud, the Democratic party now asks American wage earners to vote down the policy which has added more than 50 per cent. to their wages within thirty years.** Surely no party would ever expect votes honestly cast and honestly counted to be in favor of such a policy.



# THE NEW TARIFF.

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## How It Was Contrived and What It Has Accomplished.

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### MORE TRADE, LOWER TAXES, HIGHER WAGES.

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#### New Industries Everywhere.

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The McKinley tariff is the latest endeavor to apply protective principles in practice. Its framers rejoice at the illustration it has given to the results of that policy. Already its workings constitute the strongest argument in favor of protection. It was declared by Senator Carlisle, when this measure was pending, that under it foreign commerce would decrease, but it has vastly increased, so that imports during the last fiscal year exceeded 827 millions against 745 millions in the last year before its passage in either House, while in the last year of a Democratic revenue tariff imports were less than 354 millions. (See Table A.) It was declared that this tariff would cut off exports of American products to other countries, but exports during the last fiscal year exceeded 1,030 millions, against 742 millions in 1889, and 333 millions in the last year of the Democratic revenue tariff. It was declared that goods admitted free of duty would be less than one-half the total imports, but in the last fiscal year the goods admitted free were more than 458 millions, while the goods subject to duty were only about 369 millions. It was declared that the rate of duties on imports would be 60 per cent. or more, but in the last fiscal year the duties collected were but 21.5 per cent. of the imports, actually smaller than in any year save six in the past fifty years. For the first time in the history of the United States more than half of all the imports in value have been admitted free of duty under the new tariff, and yet imports and exports have each been in value the largest ever known in the entire history of the country.

#### REDUCTION OF DUTIES.

The first object of this act was to **reduce taxation**, because the revenue of the Government had been greatly in excess of its needs. As a result, the customs revenue was reduced about \$42,000,000, while reductions in internal taxes were more than overcome by the increased

consumption. It was predicted by opponents of this measure that it would bankrupt the Treasury, but experience has proved that the revenue is sufficient for the needs of the government, unless wasteful and extravagant Democratic appropriations are to continue. The removal of duties on sugars alone has been a direct benefit to the consumers of this country, amounting to about **one dollar for every inhabitant, old and young, or about \$5 for every family.**

#### NEW INDUSTRIES SPRINGING UP.

The second object of this measure was **to develop home industries and secure a greater demand for American labor.** In this respect, also, the act has been surprisingly successful, already accomplishing more than its most hopeful supporters had expected. It has secured the establishment of many new industries, which had no existence in the country prior to its enactment. Lists of new establishments, several hundred in number, employing thousands of hands, have been published, but can at no time be made complete, for for each week adds to the roll. Tin plate works by the score are already producing more than eight million pounds in a quarter, but many more are soon to begin operation. Works for the manufacture of pearl buttons are already counted by the dozen, and American mills now make all the cotton ties used in the country, while new works are producing plushes, laces, linen goods and a multitude of woolen, worsted and cotton fabrics, never before produced here. **Every part of the country has shared in the benefits resulting, and has seen new establishments created by this act, which give increased employment to labor, and a greater demand for the products of neighboring farms, and for the labor of mechanics and artisans.**

#### GREAT EXPANSION OF INDUSTRIES.

Great as these results have been, much greater have been realized in the **expansion and development of industries** previously existing. Three years ago the woolen manufacture was greatly depressed in consequence of changes made by Democratic votes in the tariff of 1883, and it was said that fully a third of the machinery was idle, while of the works remaining, comparatively few realized fair profits. Excessive competition of foreign goods, many of them fraudulently undervalued, was the chief cause of depression. **Now many classes of goods which were formerly imported in great quantity are no longer imported at all, and merchants handle of those classes American goods exclusively.** Dress goods, in excellence and fineness never equalled in this country, have excluded similar foreign goods, and the same is true of many kinds of worsteds and woolen goods. The mills are busy even at this season nearly to their full capacity, and trade reports speak of the orders for goods as astonishing to manufacturers. **The consumption of wool in manufacture has increased 17 per cent. in three**

years, and is much the largest ever known, while the value of woolen goods imported has decreased \$21,000,000 during the same period.

#### ADVANCES IN EVERY BRANCH OF TRADE.

In other industries similar results are seen. Many cotton fabrics never equaled in fineness by the manufacture in this country are now produced so largely that similar foreign products are almost wholly excluded, and the consumption of cotton in the mills of this country **has increased 24 per cent. in two years.** The production of pig iron since the new tariff was enacted has for the first time **surpassed that of Great Britain** both in 1891 and this year thus far, having increased about 10 per cent. in three years. It is especially important that this increase has not been due to unusual railroad building, but has been in spite of smaller consumption of iron for that purpose than has been known in other years for a long time; it is the result of vastly increased consumption of the material in other branches of the manufacture. In the silk manufacture there has been an increase of 25 per cent. beyond that of any other year, **the imports of raw silk exceeding those of 1890 by 1,500,000 pounds,** and the manufacture has increased nearly three-fold since the census of 1880, when it employed 31,000 hands and yielded products worth \$41,000,000. The imports of india rubber during the last year were 40,000,000 pounds, **an increase of 18 per cent. in two years,** though the manufacture had substantially doubled in the ten preceding years. The manufactures using tin as a material consumed **44 million pounds against 35 million pounds in 1890,** an increase of more than 25 per cent., and imports of bleaching powder have increased 10 per cent. in two years. **These are but samples of a marvellous advance which is seen in nearly all branches of American industry since the new tariff was enacted.**

#### OBJECTS OF THE NEW TARIFF.

These results have not been attained by a general increase of duties on imports. On the contrary, the articles on which duties were reduced by the new tariff greatly outnumber the articles on which duties were increased. Not only by the removal of duties on sugar, but by the addition of many other articles to the free list, were the **burdens of American consumers greatly diminished.** Where duties were increased the objects were (1) **to afford greater protection to agriculture,** which had not been adequately defended under previous tariffs; (2) **to correct errors** which had sprung up through misunderstanding or judicial interpretation of previous tariffs, or through changes in modes of production abroad which rendered previous duties ineffective; and (3) **to secure the establishment of new industries** which had been prevented hitherto by foreign competition, previous duties on imported articles having been inadequate. The greater number of changes in the direction of higher duty was for the benefit of agri-



culture, while as to the great manufactures already well established in this country, duties on a great variety of products were reduced.

#### PROTECTION FOR FARMERS.

In raising duties on many farm products Congress did but respond to the earnest demand of a great number of farmers. At the suggestion of a committee representing the farmers in all parts of the country, petitions in great number had been signed and forwarded to the Congress of 1886-7, asking increase in duties on certain farm products, and **setting forth in strong terms the necessity of such an increase in order to defend this industry against hurtful and rapidly growing competition along the sea coast and the Canadian border.** These petitions were contemptuously disregarded by the Democratic majority of the House at that time, and the result was that overwhelming majorities were given for the Republican candidates in agricultural States at the election four years ago. The Republican Congress thus elected proceeded to respond to the declared wishes of the farmers by increasing duties in every instance where such increase had been asked by the great body of petitions above mentioned, and in several cases a greater advance of duties was judged necessary in order to secure the end desired.

These provisions were intended to defend, and as experience thus far proves, do in fact defend the farmers against excessive competition in quarters where they had been most readily deprived of the enjoyment of their home markets. At the same time, in nearly all parts of the country they have in no way affected prices or enhanced the cost of products to consumers, **because there foreign farm products were not brought nor sold and would not have been under any form of tariff.** The Canadian, who taxes products imported from this country, and contributes nothing directly to the support of our national, State or local government, is now compelled to pay something for the **privilege of selling in competition with American farmers, and in consequence there has been a decline in prices of certain products in Canadian markets, and an advance in prices realized by farmers of this country near the border.** Similar benefits have been realized by farmers near the sea coast, whose best markets were often spoiled or taken from them by the importation at sea ports of vegetables, fruit, eggs and tobacco from other countries. This competition was rapidly destroying agriculture where it was most exposed to competition with foreign producers, but by giving encouragement to that industry the new act ensures the maintenance of an adequate home supply in such quarters, and in the long run larger and steadier supplies and more reasonable prices. While agriculture is being destroyed in Great Britain, as farmers of that country admit with sorrow, by the free importations from the continent, it is proposed by Democrats that the American farmers shall deliberately adopt the **British policy** and invite the same results.



# AS TO PRICES.

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**They Are Lower Than Before the New  
Tariff was Passed.**

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**DECLINES IN VALUES ALL ALONG THE  
LINE.**

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**The Result of Home Competition.**

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When the new tariff was enacted, the whole land was filled with falsehoods about its effect on prices. An army of peddlers and travelling salesmen was sent out to warn people that a great rise in prices would quickly follow the enforcement of the new law. Merchants by the thousand repeated the same statement as a reason for asking higher prices from customers. Public journals were full of exaggerated or false accounts of advances already realized. **After nearly two years' experience under the operation, consumers have learned how full of falsehood these assertions were.** The most elaborate investigation of retail prices ever undertaken, conducted by leading Senators of both political parties, who absolutely agreed in their report of the facts, has now established beyond dispute that retail prices were, as a whole, lower in September, 1891, than a year before the new tariff was enacted. The results of this investigation further proved (see table B):

(1) That the advance in retail prices at many points during the year ending with last June was almost wholly due to the partial failure of crops in 1890, and the consequent scarcity of supply. The investigation proves that 61 articles of clothing were at no time as high after December 1, 1889, as in June, July and August of that year; that metals and implements embracing 34 articles rapidly declined after the new tariff was passed, the fall amounting in the average to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. within the year; that drugs and chemicals in like manner declined nearly 2 per cent., and were at no time afterwards as high as when the act passed, and that household furnishing goods, 27 in number, have never been so high since August, 1889, as at that time. In general, all articles, except food, were lower in every month after March, 1891, than in 1889, proving conclusively that manufactured products affected by duties were not on the whole enhanced in prices by the new tariff.

(2) That the slight and temporary advance in retail prices immediately after the act went into effect at no time amounted, for all articles other than food, to more than a quarter of one per cent, or 25 cents on \$100, and lasted no longer than March, 1891, and has been followed by a general decline. Food products also declined when the good crops of 1891 began to come forward,

so that all classes of articles then became lower than in 1889. These facts, established by the concurring reports of Senators of both parties, put an end absolutely to the pretence that the new tariff caused a general advance in the cost of living or in retail prices of articles to consumers. But the same committee went farther, and

(3) By investigation at three points in May, 1892, established the fact that there had been a further decline from September, 1891, to May, 1892. At Fall River, Massachusetts, this decline was 1.2 per cent. in the aggregate of all retail prices, at Chicago 4.2 per cent. and at Dubuque, Iowa, prices were unchanged. A still later investigation at Homestead, Pennsylvania, not by official agents, has exhibited a continued decline in the same articles down to August, 1892, extending to every class of articles, and making the entire decline in retail prices in three years, from July, 1889, a little over ten per cent.

#### COST OF LIVING REDUCED.

It is, therefore, established beyond dispute that the cost of living has not been increased by the new Tariff, but that every dollar earned by labor will purchase more of things required for the support and comfort of a family than a dollar would purchase when the new Tariff was enacted, or the year before its enactment. In large measure, moreover, this decline in prices can be directly traced to the increased American production, and more active competition between home producers, which the new Tariff has caused. Thus, the imports of cotton ties have been completely stopped, but the home producers have competed so sharply that steel cotton ties of the best quality have been largely sold at the South for 2 cents per lb., a price lower than was ever quoted before the act was passed. Many articles of clothing, woolen goods, dress goods and cottons especially, have been lower since the new Tariff went into effect than ever before, owing to the enormous production that measure has brought about. Never in the history of the country has the value of a protective measure been so quickly demonstrated at any other time, in greatly increased production and reduced cost to consumers, as within the past two years under the new Tariff.

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#### A Tariff "For Revenue Only" Impossible.

*(Annual Message to Congress, Dec. 3, 1889.)*

These duties necessarily have relation to other things besides the public revenues. We cannot limit their effects by fixing our eyes on the public treasury alone. They have a direct relation to home production, to work, to wages and to the commercial independence of our country, and the wise and patriotic legislator should enlarge the field of his vision to include all of these.

—BENJAMIN HARRISON.

# WHAT FREE TRADE MEANS.

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## Economic Theories That Are Utterly Contradicted by the Facts.

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### HIGH DUTIES DO NOT CAUSE HIGH PRICES.

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#### But Low Duties Compel Low Wages.

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Never has the soundness of Republican principles regarding the tariff been more conclusively demonstrated than by the experience of the past two years. Every theory held by free traders has been crushed by an avalanche of hard facts. It has long been claimed that there could be no protection or increased stimulus for manufacturing industry without higher prices for consumers. But **irresistible facts tell a different tale.** They prove that there has been a wonderful impulse given to industries, so great that **gains** of 10 to 25 per cent. **in production** have been realized in different branches within two years; so great that **new works by the hundred** have been established and have gone into operation, employing thousands of hands, and yet there has been no advance whatever, but a general decline in retail prices paid by consumers. The mill which could not afford to make the finer dress goods at all, to be retailed at 50 cents per yard or upward, when it could not count upon the home market and its enormous demand, because the loss on part of its product if left unsold would destroy all its profits on whatever part of its production it might sell, now devotes its whole force to the making of such goods, better in quality than were ever made in this country before, better than were ever imported and sold at that price, and yet sells them at the same price realizing a profit, and builds new works to double its capacity as quickly as possible, because the American market is large enough to ensure quick and enormous sales.

Men who knew they could not make money in producing tin plates at \$5.30 per box, because foreign makers, who have been selling plates, duty paid, at that price before the new tariff was enacted, could cut off a dollar per box or more, and yet sell without loss, in order to crush any American competition, **now invest millions in the establishment of the most complete works in the world,** because the foreign maker has taken off his dollar per box from his selling price, and yet the tin plates paying the new duty cannot be sold here below the cost of production at American establishments. With the great American market ensured, the finest machinery which the unrivalled American ingenuity can devise is employed in order to produce goods more cheaply than anywhere else in the world, though without such a market secured a few months of competition with



cheap foreign labor and great accumulated capital would make many establishments worthless.

#### RETAIL PRICES KEPT DOWN.

It has long been claimed that prices paid to farmers for their products could not be raised by duty on imported articles without making the cost of living greater to all wage earners, and enhancing the retail price of food to all consumers. But hard facts tell a different tale. **They prove that wholesale and retail prices do not advance side by side. An advance of 17.3 per cent. in the wholesale price of wheat at the farms in forty-one States from July, 1889, to September, 1891, as established by the unanimous report of the Senate Finance Committee, has actually brought with it an advance, according to the same unanimous report, of scarcely two per cent. in the price of flour at seventy cities, and the advance of two per cent. in flour has brought with it an advance of only four-tenths of one per cent. in the retail price of bread.**

Corn rose 47 per cent. within the same period, but corn meal at retail advanced not quite ten per cent. Sheep rose 8.6 per cent. in value to the farmer, but mutton at retail advanced in cost to consumers less than three quarters of one per cent. **The advance in all farm products at wholesale, from July, 1889, to September, 1891, was 18.23 per cent., but in retail prices of all food during the same time, there was a slight decline.** The farmers have realized better prices for grains, vegetables and animals, and yet the consumers have not paid more for their food. The charge for every step and process from the farms to the dinner table in an eastern city has been reduced, **the middlemen take each a little less, the farmer gets much more, and the consumer pays a shade less than before for the same food.** Democratic theorists sneer at these as impossible Republican miracles, but **the investigation of prices by a committee representing both parties results in unanimous agreement that the miracles are nevertheless facts.**

#### WAGES OF LABOR ADVANCED.

The consumer pays no more, but the laborer gets higher wages—another miracle to Democratic theorists; but again the hard facts are established by the unanimous report of the same committee of both parties. The figures given by the committee (see Table C) prove that the wages of labor in fifteen general occupations actually advanced from July, 1889, to September, 1891, about three-quarters of one per cent. They also prove that in fourteen special industries there was no change of wages in four; decline of wages in five, amounting to 1.59 per cent. each, and an advance in five, amounting to 2.54 per cent. each, so that the average advance in these fourteen special industries was a third of one per cent. if each is treated as of the same importance. **The advance was greatest in woolen goods, which are on the whole cheaper than two years ago, and in pig iron and cotton goods, prices of which are lower than at any previous time in the history of**



**the country.** Nor is it strange that the establishment of many hundred new works, with the demand for thousands of new hands, should enable the workers to obtain higher wages. That is the legitimate and inevitable result of a protective system, well devised and steadily maintained, which accomplishes its purpose, and does, in fact, cause establishment of new works and expansion of old industries.

It is precisely what has been realized constantly during the past thirty years as the result of the Republican policy of protection. **Comparison of wages in more than 1,100 distinct occupations and positions, given in the census report of 1880, showed that there had been an advance from 1860, the last year of a Democratic revenue tariff, to the date of the census, amounting to about forty-five per cent.** This advance has continued, although similar official figures do not yet exist showing how great it has been within the past ten years; but such facts as have been collected unofficially show a further advance of more than six per cent. at the least; so that the wages of manufacturing and mechanical labor must now be more than fifty per cent. higher than they were in 1860 under the last Democratic tariff. **For every dollar that a day's or a month's labor would then procure under a Democratic policy, the same labor would now procure at least \$1.50 under Republican protection.** Yet the laborers of the United States are asked this year to vote against the system which has brought to them such benefits!

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**The New Tariff Must Have a Fair Trial.**

There is neither wisdom nor justice in the suggestion that the subject of tariff revision shall be again opened before this law has had a fair trial. It is quite true that every tariff schedule is subject to objections. No bill was ever framed, I suppose, that in all of its rates and classifications had the full approval even of a party caucus. Such legislation is always and necessarily the product of compromise as to details, and the present law is no exception. **But in its general scope and effect I think it will justify the support of those who believe that American legislation should conserve and defend American trade and the wages of American workmen.**

**—BENJAMIN HARRISON.**

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**Take the Issue to Your Homes.**

*(Fort Wayne, Ind., Sept. 4, 1888.)*

Some think it enough to say that they are not free-traders because they are not in favor of abolishing all customs duties. Let me remind such that the free-trade countries of Europe, recognized to be such, have not abolished all customs duties. A better distinction is this: **The free-trader believes in levying customs duties without any regard to the effect of those duties upon the wages of our working people, or upon the production of our own shops.** This, then, is the issue. Take it to your homes.

**—BENJAMIN HARRISON.**

# WAGES AND VALUES.

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More of Everything to be had for a  
Dollar than Formerly.

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AND MORE DOLLARS TO GET THEM  
WITH.

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Mechanics and the Tariff.

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In like manner the lowering of prices for all manufactured products has been going on for more than thirty years under Republican protection, and this has enabled the workingman to buy more with every dollar received in wages than he could buy in 1850. Official records of prices prior to 1889 are not completed, but tables have been published which show that less than \$75 would now buy as much of all articles entering into the consumption of an ordinary family at wholesale prices on the seaboard as \$100 would buy at the same markets in the last year of a Democratic revenue tariff. Farm products have been reduced in cost to Eastern consumers by a reduction in the cost of transportation, but their value has not been correspondingly reduced to the farmers who ship their products over the long lines of railway. On the other hand, manufactured products have been reduced in cost much more than prices of farm products at the seaboard, and almost without exception **are cheaper than they ever were under the Democratic revenue tariff.** It is undeniable that the tendency of inventions and of progress in the arts and sciences is to reduce the expenditure of human labor and consequently the cost of producing manufactured articles. **But comparison between the prices for such articles in this and in other countries makes it clear that the reduction in prices has been as great in this as in any other land.** Of all the benefits which advancing civilization has secured to the human race the American people have been enabled to enjoy under protection not only their full share but a larger share than has fallen to the lot of the people in other countries.

## MECHANICS PROTECTED.

It is often asked why hands engaged in mechanical trades, such as house-building occupations and the bakers, butchers, plumbers and the like, should secure as much increase in wages as those engaged in protected manufactures. **But the men in the mechanical occupations have no foreign competition whatever to retard their improvement in condition.** They, therefore, feel the full effect of that steady increase in demand for all American labor which protec-

tion has caused for thirty years. The employer who is manufacturing woolen goods, or steel in various forms, or other articles largely imported, may often find it impossible to grant an advance in wages when it is asked, because a further advance at that time in the cost of production might enable foreign competitors to undersell him and cut off part of his market. But the carpenters or the masons have no such competition to meet. No foreign artisan can lay the foundation or put up the frame-work of a house for Americans to occupy, and ship it to this country for sale. **The natural protection provided by the character of their occupation** enables these workmen to reap the full benefit of that upward impulse which protection gives, through the constant demand for American labor in the expansion and diversification of industries.

#### WAGES OF FARM LABOR.

The wages of farm labor, as exhibited by official reports of the Agricultural Department, disclose the operation of the same influence. Because there is a greater demand for all labor, when new establishments are constantly being completed and put in operation, through the withdrawal of hands from the supply available for farm labor, there results an advance in the wages of such hands which bears strong testimony to the power of the upward influence. The official statements (see Table D) show that the average of wages paid to farm hands per month in all the States has advanced 1.4 per cent. during the last two years, 2 per cent. during the last four years, 3 per cent. in the last seven years, and 15.7 per cent. since 1879, the year of specie resumption. While this advance makes the cost of production somewhat greater, the farmers have compensation in the far greater efficiency of farm implements and machinery, in their greater cheapness, especially within the past two years, and in the reduction of more than one-half in the cost of transporting their products from the farms to distant eastern markets.

#### THE NATION'S MARVELLOUS PROGRESS.

This is but an outline of the magnificent results which have followed a steady maintenance of the Republican policy of protection for more than thirty years. The progress of the nation has been greater than that of any other nation, and so great that this has surpassed every other in aggregate valuation. **The wealth-producing power of the people has gained so greatly that foreign statisticians now estimate the annual addition to the wealth of the United States as greater than the annual addition to the wealth of Great Britain, Germany and France combined.** The distribution of wealth has been so favorable that labor earns about twice as much in this as in other countries, while the purchasing power of wages earned has been increased in greater proportion here than elsewhere. Within thirty years under the protective policy, **the value of labor measured in the things it will buy has more than doubled in the United States,** and nowhere else has it gained



in any such proportion. Manufactures have developed and increased in production at a rate not even rivalled in any other country, making this the foremost nation of the world in many great departments of industry in which thirty years ago its productive capacity was insignificant, and the strong home competition has so cheapened products that the cost of living has been greatly reduced. **More than ten million immigrants have come to this country within twenty years, and yet have not prevented a great advance in the wages of labor.** Millions of them have taken new farms and brought under cultivation rich lands of the far West, and yet have not prevented an advance in prices of farm products at the farms. In a word, no other country has prospered so marvellously or gained so much as this country under the protective policy, nor has the progress been more remarkable at any other time than during the past two years under the latest tariff framed and passed by the Republicans.

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#### Bismarck's Tribute to Protection.

*(From a Speech in the Reichstag by Prince Bismarck,  
May 12, 1882.)*

The success of the United States in material development is the most illustrious of modern time. The American nation has not only successfully borne and suppressed the most gigantic and expensive war of all history, but immediately afterward disbanded its army, found work for all its soldiers and marines, paid off most of its debt, given labor and homes to all the unemployed of Europe as fast as they could arrive within the territory, and **still by a system of taxation so indirect as not to be perceived, much less felt. Because it is my deliberate judgment that the prosperity of America is mainly due to its system of protective laws,** I urge that Germany has now reached that point where it is necessary to imitate the tariff system of the United States.



# STRIKING AT WOOL.

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**The Democracy is a Party Hostile to Industries.**

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**FLOCKS ENORMOUSLY INCREASED  
DURING 1891.**

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**Woolen Goods Cheaper.**

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It is against this wonder-working policy, which brings to all benefits greater than any have anticipated, that the Democratic party fights. No longer trying merely to find flaws in the details of the tariff, or particular duties which can be successfully attacked, the party denounces as robbery a system which has helped to benefit every class of citizens in every section of the land, and **declares that it is unconstitutional to provide by protection a larger demand for American labor and an expansion of American industries.** The contrast between the Democratic and Republican platforms is not greater than the contrast between the measures which the two parties have supported.

The bills framed this year by the Democrats, and passed by the enormous Democratic majority in the House, were confessedly intended only as a few samples of what the party would do if it had full power. The intention was plainly avowed to frame no general tariff bill, because it was not thought wise to show in detail exactly what the party meant to do, except as these few bills indicate its purpose. But, judging from these measures alone, **the Democratic policy must be pronounced hostile to American industries, hostile to American producers and to the interests of American wage-earners, and calculated to benefit only the manufacturers of other countries, their employees, and the agents or others who import foreign goods into the United States.**

## FREE WOOL.

The first of these measures, passed April 7th, 1892, in the Democratic House by a vote of 194 yeas, all Democrats, against 58 Republicans and 2 Democrats in the the negative, provides in its first section that "on and after the first day of January, 1893, the following articles, when imported, shall be exempt from duty, namely: All wools, hair of the camel, goat, alpaca, and other like animals, and all wool and hair on the skin, noils, top waste, slubbing waste, roving waste, ring waste, yarn waste, card waste, bur waste, rags and flocks, including all waste or rags composed wholly or in part of wool."

This is the same sweeping and destructive change which President Cleveland advocated in his free-trade message, **the first annual message by an American President ever devoted exclusively to an attempt to destroy an important industry of his own country.**

But the bill of 1892 went even further than the President in his bid for free-trade votes. It proposed to admit free of all duty, not only all wool, whether washed or unwashed, but all the various forms of noils, flocks, tops and so-called waste, names which have been devised by foreign manufacturers for the purpose of fraudulently introducing into this country at lower rates of duty partially manufactured wool ready for use, as if it were the worthless refuse of manufacture. The pretence that such partially manufactured wool would be dutiable under another provision, as having been advanced by subsequent processes or labor beyond the condition of waste, is frivolous, because the same false pretences which formerly gained its admission at low rates would, under the Democratic act, get it admitted free of duty. In the fiscal year 1890, the last before a new tariff was adopted, no less than 4,985,266 pounds of such pretended refuse was imported at ten cents per pound duty, the foreign value of which was more than forty-one cents per pound, nearly double the value of clothing wool imported the same year, and nearly three times the average value of all wool. **The effect of such importations is to cut off the demand for more than three pounds of American wool against every pound of such scoured and partially manufactured material imported,** and no party not desiring to break down wool-growing in this country would have proposed such a change.

#### TO DESTROY WOOL GROWING.

Free wool means for more than a million American wool growers direct and unchecked competition of the most degrading sort, not with free men of any race who own their lands and support their own government, but with convicts or coolies in Australasia, with the savages of South America and the blacks of South Africa. **Where land costs nothing, where the climate reduces the expense of sheep raising to the minimum, and where the laborer has neither home nor citizenship, and lives on nothing, wool can be grown at a cost with which American farmers cannot compete and should never be obliged to compete.** Already Australian production has been so vastly increased, and the price of wool in other countries so greatly depressed, that 148,670,672 pounds were imported during the past fiscal year, the greater part of which was valued abroad at less than 10 cents per pound. Without any duty on cheap foreign wool, the industry in this country would have to be almost wholly abandoned, even in the distant unsettled and rapidly narrowing regions where lands can be occupied for nothing. The growers of wool number more than a million, and own 45,000,000 sheep, the value of which is \$116,000,000. Rarely, if ever, has it been pro-

posed to abandon and destroy an industry of such magnitude, and to render worthless such large investments by citizens and voters.

Wool has never yet been free of duty under any party or tariff since the first duties thereon were imposed, and until Mr. Cleveland's desperate bid for free trade support, it was scarcely believed that any party would venture to propose a change so unjust and injurious to the entire body of farmers. Only the year before his election the Democratic party in Ohio, realizing that votes by some Democratic members for a mere reduction of wool duties would render its defeat probable, sought to avoid that defeat by pledging restoration of the wool duties to those imposed in 1866, which are substantially the duties imposed by the new tariff. Failing to catch votes by a pledge so palpably insincere, the party next threw the wool growing farmers aside as hopeless and sought to entice manufacturers by the promise of free raw material with protective duties on manufactured products. **When President Cleveland had been defeated on that device also the party concluded, it appears, that neither wool growers nor wool manufacturers could be enticed into destroying their own interests by their votes and thus it has cast off the mask, declares all protective duties robbery and unconstitutional, and votes for free wool and for duties on woolen goods much too low for protection of the industry.**

#### DUTIES ON WOOLENS NOT PROTECTIVE.

The Mills bill of 1888 was framed with the avowed intention to make all wool free of duty, and the pretense that the remaining 40 per cent. duty on all woolen goods would be adequate for protection. A great majority of the manufacturers, through their association and individually, protested that the removal of specific duties on woolen goods would not leave duties adequate for protection, because the *ad valorem* duties could be easily evaded, and were relatively lowest just when the industry most needed defense against foreign competition. That these proposed duties were not in fact sufficient for the defense of the wool manufacture, the people in wool-manufacturing and wool-growing States both decided by heavy majorities in the elections of that year. **Yet the bill of 1892 reduced the duties on woolen goods below the rate proposed in the Mills bill; on woolen yarns from 40 to 35 per cent.; on blankets, hats and flannels for underwear to 25, 30 and 35 per cent.; on dress goods with cotton warp to 35 per cent.; and on all carpets to 30 per cent. On clothing ready made and various garments made up, the new bill imposed a duty of 45 per cent., whereas the Mills bill had admitted these goods at the same rate with the cloth of which they were made; and on all-wool dress goods, woolen cloths and knit fabrics, and on webbings, braids, laces and other goods of like description, the 40 per cent. duty of the Mills bill was retained in the bill of 1892. But on the great majority of woolen and worsted goods the duties proposed by the Democrats this year were lower than**



those of the Mills bill, which the manufacturers had proved inadequate, and which the people in the election of 1888 had held insufficient for the protection of industry.

#### AGAINST DEMOCRATIC PROTESTS.

The Democrats in the House were not without warning of the consequences. While this bill was under consideration the committee at first proposed to take off only those duties which were designed to compensate for the duties on raw wool. It was falsely pretended that this would leave the manufacture as well defended as it had been under the present tariff. It was quickly shown that the abolition of the compensatory specific duties would in fact take away a great part of the protection for the manufacture, leaving only ad valorem duties which could be easily and almost indefinitely evaded. Yet even this was not enough for the majority of Democratic members, who insisted upon still greater reduction in the duties on woolen goods. At once they were warned by some of the most experienced and competent Democratic manufacturers in the country, who were members of the House, and one of them a member of the committee, and who declared that such a reduction would be fatal to the industry.

Nevertheless, the committee voted, and the Democratic members of the House afterwards voted, for this ruinous reduction. These manufacturers declared that the abolition of all specific duties was of itself more than the industry could stand, and that further reductions in the ad valorem duties also **would close a multitude of works, drive many thousand people out of employment, and cripple the manufacture so that the home demand for wool would be ruinously diminished.** These Democrats warned their associates that such a measure would drive a host of voters away from their party, and sacrifice all that it had gained by adroitly recommending "tariff reform" instead of free trade. All warnings were in vain. The Democratic majority insisted, the specific duties were all swept away, and part of the ad valorem duties besides, and in that form the bill was passed by the House as a sample of the deliberate intention of the Democratic party.

This destructive measure is the less excusable because the country had been taught, by painful experience under the tariff of 1883, that duties only a little lower than those now in force, and yet much higher than those proposed this year by Democrats, would subject the industry to great loss and peril. Under that tariff, for the first time in a quarter of a century, wool growing and wool manufacture had sustained great reverses. More than a third of the mills were idle, it was stated, and their prostration caused the slaughter of millions of sheep and reduced the output of wool 46,000,000 pounds, according to the reports of the Agricultural Department, from 308 million pounds in 1884 to 262 million pounds in 1889, or about 15 per cent. in five years. Not ignorantly, but after such demonstration as this, the Democrats insisted upon far lower duties than those which had exposed wool growing and wool manufacture to destructive foreign competition.



## FREE TRADE THEORIES.

The theory of the free traders is that the manufacturer cannot prosper without cheap raw material, and that the duties raise the cost of domestic wool so much as to make it impossible for the manufacturer to compete with foreign imports. At the same time the wool grower is told that the protective duties do not raise the price of wool in the least, but actually depress it, so that he can get no advantage, but only injury from such duties. Palpable fraud is in these assertions; either one or both must be false. **The facts prove that the manufacture has prospered under the new and higher duties as it never prospered before, and that the wool growers also have been so greatly encouraged that they have rapidly increased the number of their flocks, 1,500,000 in the year 1891.** The extreme depression of prices in all other countries has necessarily affected the market in the United States to some extent, but the wool growers know that the decline has been twice as great in other countries as in this. In August, 1890, before the new tariff was framed, 102 qualities and grades of wool averaged in the Philadelphia market 23.6 cents per pound, and the same qualities and grades in the market now average 22.6 cents per pound. But, in foreign markets, all wool of similar qualities has declined far more, New South Wales, at London, from 9 $\frac{1}{4}$  pence in August, 1890, to 7 $\frac{1}{4}$  pence in August, 1892, or 21.6 per cent. Protective duties have shielded the American grower from the greater part of an extreme depression, which, but for that defense, would have been fatal to this industry.

## WOOLEN GOODS NOT DEARER.

What excuse is given, or can be given, for exposing to such peril great industries which feed millions of people? The only one yet offered is the false pretense that consumers of woollen clothing have been frightfully taxed under the new tariff, having to pay greatly increased prices for goods in consequence of the higher duties. But the report of the Senate Finance Committee, all parties agreeing, establishes the fact that **the prices of woollen goods as a whole were slightly lower in September, 1891, than in June-August, 1889,** the average of all quotations exclusive of carpets being 99.4 against 100 two years earlier. Carpets were about four per cent. higher in 1891, but have since been reduced as much or more. Other woollen goods are also lower this year than last, while none of any importance in consumption have advanced. Wholesale clothing houses furnish lists showing that they sell all sorts of ready-made clothing and suits, made of the same goods and in the same way, as cheaply as they did two years or three years ago. **Thus absolutely no loss has resulted to consumers from the new duties on woollen goods,** and the only excuse that can be given for exposing a great industry to disaster is a false and fraudulent one.

## OTHER STRIKES AT PROSPERITY.

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### Democratic Proposals to Turn Hosts of Workmen into the Street.

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### BILLS TO PUT PROTECTED PRODUCTS ON THE FREE LIST.

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#### Confessed Folly and Worse.

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The next bills proposed as samples by the Democratic party were purely sectional and worthy only of demagogues. These were bills to put binding twine on the free list and to take off duties from cotton ties and cotton bagging. The character of these bills was fully exposed by one of the most prominent Democratic organs of free trade, "The New York Times," in an editorial February 17th, entitled "The Committee's Folly," which said of the binding twine bill:

"The removal of the insignificant duty on binding twine could be of no service to the Western farmers whom the majority members are supposed to have in mind. That duty is only seven-tenths of a cent per pound. The removal of it would not perceptibly reduce the price of binding twine. As we have said before, substantially all that could be done for consumers of binding twine by changes in the tariff was done by the McKinley Act. That act removed the duties on the raw materials out of which the farmer's binding twine is made—manilla, sisal, sunn and other vegetable fibres—and at the same time so cut down the duty on the twine itself that this product is practically on the free list now. Those who think they can fool the farmers now by cutting off the merely nominal duty of seven-tenths of a cent per pound—the weight of which may be shown by the fact that the price of such twine now ranges from 9 to 13 cents a pound—are building upon the assumption that the farmers cannot understand some of the simplest provisions of the present tariff law. It was folly to waste time in the consideration of such a measure."

Regarding the cotton ties bill the same editorial says:

"The cotton ties now consumed in this country are no longer imported. The quantity imported in the calendar year 1890 was 33,824,387 pounds. In that year substantially the entire demand was supplied by imports. In the calendar year 1891 the quantity imported was only 416,550 pounds. The demand was supplied by domestic manufacturers. It does not escape our attention that this will be cited by the devotees of McKinleyism as an admission in their favor. We do not contend that the McKinley tariff is wholly and uniformly bad. As to the cotton tie industry we shall say more hereafter. The fact to be considered by the Springer Committee is that the cotton ties

used in this country are at the present time made here. The industry is an American one. The removal of the duty without any relief to the manufacturer, so far as his raw material is concerned, would put an end to the domestic production of cotton ties. The industry now carried on in this country would be transferred to Europe. Does the committee think that it can afford to stand upon a policy which provides clearly for the transfer of an American industry to England? Will such a policy command the votes of a majority of the American people? There is neither justice nor common sense in abruptly cutting off the duty on a manufactured product and in retaining the taxes upon the raw materials which the maker of this product must use."

These are the admissions of a disgusted free trader, who sees that the arrant demagogues in the House were unscrupulous enough and also ignorant enough to propose these measures in the hope that they would befool Western farmers and Southern cotton producers. But there is not merely demagogism in the bill; there is also hostility to American industry, so spiteful that it would strike down a new industry in this country, already employing multitudes of industrious workers, **solely because it has been created by a Republican tariff.** Every such proof that the Republican policy is wise and benefits the country must be suppressed at any cost, for it is damaging to the Democratic party.

#### THE BINDING TWINE BILL A FRAUD.

This measure was passed May 2d, 183 years to 47 nays. The duty on binding twine had been reduced by the McKinley Bill to seven-tenths of a cent per pound, the cost of twine being from 9 to 13 cts., so that the duty in the present tariff is from 5.4 per cent. to 7.7 per cent. of the cost. Less than 1½ lbs. of twine is required for an acre of grain, so that the duty, if it were all paid by the grain grower, as it is not, would amount to a cent per acre, or less than one mill per bushel of grain. But it is an insult to the intelligence of farmers to pretend that they suppose the insignificant duty on this article is added to the cost of domestic twine, when none is imported even since the duty was greatly reduced two years ago. **The true question is whether Chinese labor at Hong Kong, which is paid only \$5 per month, shall be employed in preference to American labor for the sake of saving less than a mill per bushel on the cost of grain to consumers.** The industry established here uses machinery of American invention, consumes 10,000 tons of hemp grown on American farms each year, besides other materials, and pays to American laborers in the manufacture about \$2,000,000 yearly, or 2 cts. per pound of twine produced. A free trader, and only a free trader, would see a profit in destroying the industry, depriving the laborers of employment and the farmers of a market for their hemp, in order to get the twine from China, even if it could be obtained cheaper to the extent of a cent for each acre of grain.



## THE COTTON TIES BILL.

This bill was passed April 9 by a vote of 157 Democrats in favor against 43 Republicans and 3 Democrats against it, and places on the free list an important product of iron or steel, while similar products intended for other uses remain dutiable as well as the materials from which it is manufactured. More than 30,000 tons of cotton ties were imported in a single year before the new duties were imposed. Since they were imposed the imports have not been 500 tons. About forty American works have gone into the business, and have not only supplied the entire consumption, but at the end of last season had considerable stocks over. Competition between them not only prevents any advance in price; it has actually caused the price to decline below that of two years ago. In June, 1890, makers were selling at \$1.10 per bundle of 50 pounds; in July, August and September at \$1.12, and a small advance of eight cents per bundle followed the new duties in November and December, but in the same months last year the price had fallen again to \$1.10 per bundle, and has since gone below \$1 at the same works. Thus there is not the shadow of excuse for pretending that consumers are in the slightest degree burdened by the new duties. The only motive that can exist for breaking down this new industry, which already aids in giving employment to 11,000 hands, is either a narrow sectionalism or a spiteful desire to destroy every evidence that the new tariff has benefited the country without taxing consumers.

Works in Great Britain, which produced a large part of the ties used in this country, have been stopped by the new American competition. **Their managers openly state that they wait in hope that American voters will drive back across the ocean the new industry established here, and restore to the British makers the large profits they formerly enjoyed.** They indulge strong hope that President Cleveland and a Democratic Congress will be elected, being assured that such a result would mean many millions to them. Putting cotton ties on the free list would take from American workers, who produced last year over 1,600,000 bundles, at least \$1,000,000 in wages which they now expend in the purchase of food from farmers, and of clothing and other supplies from American artisans and mechanics, and would send more than that sum each year to Great Britain to the manufacturers who are impatiently waiting for a Democratic victory in the United States.

## COTTON BAGGING.

The proposal to put cotton bagging on the free list was merely an act of favoritism which demagogues thought would benefit the cotton-growing States. It had no other possible excuse, and if the committee had not been ignorant, or had not supposed the cotton growers ignorant, the proposal would never have been made. But for no other or better reason than this the Democrats of the House were willing to close a large number of American works, and to deprive of employment a multitude of



American operatives, in order to favor an Indian trust which controls the mills at Calcutta, and produces bagging with coolie labor at a cost of less than 14 cents per day. To the cotton planter who gets more per pound for the gross weight of his bales of cotton than he pays for the bagging included in that weight, no reduction in the cost of bagging is necessary, but under protective duties the cost of bags has been largely reduced by the competition of American works. An official statement from the Bureau of Statistics (see Table E) shows the price of gunny bags for some months before the new tariff was enacted and down to March, 1892. The two-pound bag which cost 8 cents in June, 1890, fell to  $6\frac{3}{4}$  cents in January, 1891, and to 6 cents in January and February, 1892, a decline of 25 per cent. in two years. In  $2\frac{1}{4}$ -pound bags the decline has been  $2\frac{1}{4}$  cents, and in  $1\frac{3}{4}$ -pound bags it has been  $1\frac{3}{4}$  cents. In the face of such a cheapening of this product under protective duties, the proposal to abolish those duties, and depend upon coolie labor and the Calcutta trust, is eminently worthy of free traders.

#### LEAD ORE.

Another bill passed by the Democratic House, July 8—1865 years to 62 nays—placed lead ore on the free list, in contempt of the interest of Western miners, whose votes the Democratic party now seeks. The pretext for this change was that the Mexican ore is needed to smelt with American ore as a flux, but the testimony of experts proves that there is no such necessity. The true purpose was to get cheap ore, mined by the cheapest Mexican labor at 50 cents per day, to compete with the ore mined by citizens of this country, who earn five times as much. In 1891 the importation of silver ore amounted to 271,000,000 pounds, bearing 15.6 per cent. of lead, so that more than 20,000 tons of lead would thus have been brought in free of duty, the product of Mexican cheap miners, if the Democratic policy had been in force. In six months of this year 26,772,000 pounds of lead contained in Mexican silver ore have been imported paying the present duty, and the Democratic party would admit all this ore free, to the injury of American producers.

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“ We lead all nations in agriculture, we lead all nations in mining, and we lead all nations in manufacturing. These are the trophies which we bring after twenty-nine years of a Protective Tariff. Can any other system furnish such evidences of prosperity? Yet in the presence of such a showing of progress there are men everywhere found who talk about the restraints we put upon trade and the burdens we put upon the enterprise and energy of our people. There is no country in the world where individual enterprise has such a wide and varied range and where the inventive genius of man has such encouragement.”

—WILLIAM McKINLEY, Jr.

# TIN PLATES IN PLENTY.

Made by American Workmen in  
American Shops of American  
Plates.

FORTY-TWO FACTORIES ON THE  
OFFICIAL LIST.

And It Constantly Grows.

Perhaps the least excusable of all the tariff measures passed by the Democrats of the House was the tin plate bill, for which 207 votes were cast July 8th against 56 in the negative. This bill places tin plates on the free list. It cuts down the duty after October 1, 1892, to one cent per pound, the old rate under which not a single pound of tin plates had been produced, but without any discoverable reason, postpones until October 1, 1894, the entire abolition of all duties on this product. As the reduction or the abolition of duty would equally destroy the manufacture in this country, the Democratic majority might as well have voted to annihilate the industry at once, without the shabby pretence of humane delay. The thousands of American workingmen who would be thrown out of employment by the closing of works, if the duty should be reduced to one cent per pound, might better have had fair warning to look for their livelihood elsewhere, with no false hope that the manufacture could endure for two years longer.

## TIN PLATE ACTUALLY REDUCED IN PRICE.

This bill is the outgrowth of an impudent falsehood, repeated so often and so widely that the Democratic party would have been disgraced, even in the eyes of its most ignorant adherents, if it had not pretended to consider the new duty on tin plates a frightful burden to consumers which should be removed. If that impudent lie had never been told, and if ignorant people by the thousand had not been persuaded to believe it, no party managed by sane men would have ventured to propose the destruction of a new industry, which has already given employment to many thousand hands, without imposing any tax whatever upon the people. The cost of I. C. Coke Tin Plates 14x20 at New York and at Liverpool at the dates named has been:

	N. Y.	Liverpool.
Oct. 7, 1890 .....	\$5.50	\$4.11
Jan. 1, 1891 .....	5.30	4.23
July 1, 1891 .....	5.30	3.46
Jan. 1, 1892 .....	5.25	3.08
Aug. 24, 1892.....	5.15	2.96

The foreign maker has reduced the cost of plates substantially the entire amount of the additional duty, which is 1.2 cents per lb. or \$1.29 per box, so that the selling price at wholesale in this country is actually lower than it was when the new tariff went into effect, or when the new tin plate duty took effect July 1, 1891. **The duty is not added to the cost, as Democratic reasoners stupidly assert, but has been taken from his profit by the Welsh manufacturer, practically the whole of it in this as in many other instances.** The British price never has been as low as it is now, except for a very short time in the year 1886.

It is not denied that the price had been put up by the foreign trust which controls this manufacture a little before the new tariff bill passed, so that prices were higher when it passed than they had been for some months. But it was this very power, which the monopoly held and mercilessly exercised, to put up prices at pleasure for an article enormously consumed in this country, which at last exhausted the patience of the American people, and determined a Republican Congress to destroy the monopoly by creating the tin plate industry in this country. At one time \$12.50 was charged American consumers for the same tin plates which foreign makers now offer them at \$5.15 after paying the additional duty of \$1.29 per box, and in six of the eleven years prior to the new duties, prices had been pushed higher by the foreign monopoly than they are now with the new duties paid.

#### AMERICAN WORKS OF UNEQUALED EXCELLENCE.

When it was proposed to establish this new industry by adequate duties for protection, free trade journals and orators broke out in a chorus of protestation that the thing was utterly impossible. It has been proved that they did not tell the truth. **Erected within a single year there are in this country works which the managers of establishments in Wales and heads of the Welsh Manufacturers' Association who have visited this country, have publicly declared the finest and most complete works for the purpose they have ever seen.** The tin plate turned out is of such excellence that, as a letter from the Record Manufacturing Company of Ohio to Col. Ayres of the Treasury Department declares, it **"is far superior to that of foreign makers,"** owing to the superiority of the ore in this country from which the steel is made, so that "during the last month they have not had a single sheet cracked under their dies, which is something they could never say of the very highest grade of foreign plates they ever obtained." Sworn statements to Col. Ayres, agent of the Treasury Department, under the requirements of the law, prove that during the last quarter more than 8,000,000 pounds of tin plates were made in this country besides the large quantity for use in stamping establishments, and yet some of the works of largest capacity and finest equipment have gone into operation since that quarter



closed,\* and others will soon commence work. **The official list of companies engaged in the manufacture of tin plates already includes 42,** and, when all are at work to the capacity for which plants are erected or being erected, the production will far exceed that required by the law, for the McKinley act provided that the new duty should terminate unless within six years the American makers should produce in one year over a third of the tin plates imported and consumed in this country in one of the six years. **During the past year 418 million pounds have been imported, and the exports with drawback have been about 150 million pounds, so that a production of 90 million pounds in any one year of the six will meet the requirement of the law.** But before the end of the very first year the capacity of works in operation exceeded 40 million pounds yearly. It would be strange indeed, in view of the past increase, if the production for the next year, the second under the new law, should not exceed the required one-third of the past year's net imports, unless a free trade victory should arrest the progress. It is plain enough that the foreign makers have no longer a hope except in the friendly activity of the Democratic party. Thus "Industries," a London trade paper, of April 1, 1892, says :

"The statement made this week that the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives had determined to recommend the passing of the bill recently introduced into that branch of the Legislature, with a view to getting rid of the duty of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  cents per pound on imports of tin plates, is one that will come as a great relief to a very important branch of the iron trade of Great Britain."

#### COST TO CONSUMERS.

The falsehood that Americans cannot make tin plates having thus been buried out of sight by their energy and enterprise, the free traders next pretend that consumers in this country are paying an unjust tax for the establishment of the new works. But this untruth will not live long. Out of the 418,000,000 pounds imported during the fiscal year just closed, about 150,000,000 pounds were used in the manufacture of cans exported, on which a drawback of 99 per cent. of the duty is allowed, so that there was practically no added cost to the American consumers. A large portion of the remaining 268,000,000 pounds is consumed in roofing or the manufacture of cans and other articles for use in this country, the consuming manufacturers buying at the wholesale prices already quoted, so that they are actually paying less than they paid in October, 1890, when the new tariff became a law, and less than they paid in July, 1891, when the tin plate duty went into effect. **If they have charged more for cans and other articles of tin produced by them, they have plundered the consumers without proper excuse.** The remaining portion, certainly less than a third of the entire consumption, has gone into tin ware for the use of the people, and it is demonstrable that, if retail prices of such ware have been increased, it has been without justification.



## PRICES OF TINWARE.

The foreign monopolists and the manufacturers have had a fine time charging Americans for tinware two or three times the cost, and it is well that consumers should have their turn. The tin dinner pail, about which free-trade orators have wailed so loudly, cost the manufacturer 27 cents each, the old duty paid, and weighs two pounds twelve ounces, so that the additional duty would amount to 3.3 cents per pail. Thus the entire cost, with the new duty paid, will be only 30.3 cents, but the retail price of this same pail has been 50 cents. The profits after paying the old duty were 23 cents, and after paying the new duty would be 19.7 cents—more than 60 per cent. A trader who refuses to sell at a 60 per cent profit, and demands a higher price from customers on account of the 3.3 cents duty he has to pay, deserves to be set before the people in his true light, for in that case the additional charge is not because of the tariff, but because he is an extortionist.

This is not, by any means, the worst illustration of the same character. The half-pint cup, which would cost 1.4 cents each with the new duty paid, retails at some places for 5 cents, the profit being 3.6 cents, or more than 200 per cent. What have customers to say of the dealer who tries to make them pay more, because his cup costs him 1.4 cents instead of 1 cent each? In Table F are given details of 24 kinds of tinware, the actual cost of each at wholesale, and the cost of each with the old duty paid, the weight of each article, and the cost with the new duty of 1.2 cents per pound added, and the retail price actually charged. On only 8 of the 24 articles is the retail profit less than 100 per cent. after paying the whole of the new duty. On one other it is 90 per cent. ; on two others 80 per cent. ; on one only 70 per cent. ; on one only 60 per cent, and on two others 58 per cent. There remains only one article in the entire list on which the payment of the whole new duty would bring down the retail profit below 58 per cent. If the price is raised in such cases, it is not in the slightest degree due to the tariff, but only to the disposition of men who want more than 58 per cent. profit.

It ought to be known to consumers that there are some retail dealers, happily by no means the majority, who do extort where they can additional prices on the pretense that the new duty makes the charge necessary. If they do, it is, in almost every instance, in order to swell retail profits which are already greater than the facts warrant. But the investigation of retail prices by the Senate Finance Committee demonstrated that **comparatively few of the many hundred traders visited were making any higher charge for tinware than they had made before the new tariff was imposed.** The average of retail prices was but slightly raised on such articles, less than it would have been had only half the dealers added but a single cent to the price. Within a short time, when American workers are supplying tin freely, there will be found not even the shadow of an excuse for such extortion.

If Democratic free traders let this industry alone, it will soon save the people of this country more than \$20,000,000 yearly which they

have been sending abroad for the products of British labor. (See Table G.) Expended here by American workingmen, that sum would add to the demand for products of farms and shops throughout the country. It is cheaper always to keep our own people at work than to be forced to supply them in idleness and discontent, while millions in money go abroad to support the industries of other countries.

#### A FOREIGN, NOT AN AMERICAN, POLICY.

Such has been the tariff policy which Democrats have ventured this year to disclose to the people. At every point hostile to the growth and development of American industries; at every point calculated to benefit foreign manufacturers and traders rather than American workingmen; at every point tending to bring American labor into competition with the lowest grade of labor in other countries—with the coolies of the far East and the pauper labor of Europe; designed to strike down and destroy those very industries which have made most notable progress within the past two years, and at not a single point justified by a prospect of saving anything for American consumers. **It is not only blundering and ignorant, spiteful and sectional, but distinctly unpatriotic.** In every sense it is a foreign, and not an American, policy. It can have no intelligent aim, except to enrich other countries at the expense of our own; to turn thousands of Americans out of profitable employment that foreign manufacturers and monopolists may be rewarded for their intense sympathy with the Democratic party and candidate.

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#### Sir, John Macdonald Shows How American Protection Works.

*(From a Speech in the Canadian Parliament by Sir John A. Macdonald, Premier.)*

Suppose a man has 100 acres on the Canadian side of the line and 100 acres of land on the American side of the line. Suppose he grows 1,000 bushels of barley on each of his farms. He takes his 1,000 American bushels to the American market and gets \$1 a bushel for it. He takes his 1,000 bushels of Canadian barley to the American market and gets but 85 cents per bushel, because he has to pay 15 cents duty for taking it across the line. How can it, in this case, be said that the consumer pays the duty? **It comes out of the pockets of the Canadian farmers.**

# PROTECTION AND EXPORTS.

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## Official Treasury Statistics Proving that the Country Sells Vastly More Under Protection

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### THAN UNDER ANY OTHER POSSIBLE SYSTEM.

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#### Startling Treasury Tables.

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For fifty years it has been the cry of free traders that protection would suppress exports. It would stop buying foreign products by Americans, and, therefore, theorists said, would necessarily stop the buying of American products by foreigners, since nations must, in the long run, buy goods with goods. Such has been the free-trade theory. It was enticing, but it does not fit the facts. Those who know anything of foreign trade are aware that the exports of domestic products have been much larger during the past thirty years than before, but there are very few who realize **how astonishing the increase has been.**

Since the protective policy went into effect in 1861 there have been 30 years of undisturbed operation of that policy, which may be contrasted in official reports of the Treasury with the preceding 71 years under various forms of tariff. During nearly all the preceding period the tariffs were either for revenue only, in accordance with Democratic theories, or in the nature of compromise, or but partially protective. The aggregate of domestic exports, as tables which follow will show, for 101 years ending with 1890 was **\$21,692,739,844**, of which **\$15,639,818,791** were during the **thirty years of protection ending with 1890**, while the aggregate of exports during the 71 years ending with 1860 were **only \$6,052,921,053**. A stronger comparison still may be made if the 10 years, which included the Civil War, the first decade under the present protective policy, be omitted on the ground that the full force of that policy was in a measure defeated by the disturbances during and connected with the war, and by the great depreciation of the currency. **For 81 years ending with 1870** the total value of domestic exports from this country was **\$8,442,396,861**, while for only 20 years ending with 1890 the value was **\$13,250,-348,983**, an increase of about **57 per cent.**

#### COMPARISONS SHOWING WONDERFUL RESULTS.

The tables, shown on pages 238 to 263, present a summary of the official record of important domestic exports for one year more than a century, though in some cases, where the exports of a particular product were so small, during



the earlier years of the century, that no official record of the quantity or value was made. But as the test by values of property exported is liable to be deceptive, since with declining prices the exports of a larger quantity may appear to show no increase whatever in value, unless the quantity marketed in foreign countries has increased as much as the product declined in price, the comparisons are made whenever it is possible in quantities of various products exported. In many items, for obvious reasons, a comparison by quantities is not possible.

#### HOW SOUTHERN PLANTERS HAVE FARED UNDER PROTECTION.

These tables show an astonishing increase in the exports of some of the most important products. **More cotton has gone abroad during the last twenty-two years under Protection, 41,362,000,000 lbs., than in the previous sixty years under all tariffs, 30,108,000,000 lbs.** This does not sustain the claim that Protection has in any way tended to close the world's markets against the products of Southern planters. It will be noticed that the exports during the last two fiscal years have been far greater than the average for any previous decade.

#### GRAIN GROWERS AND THE TARIFF.

Again, the exports of breadstuffs in 20 years under Protection have been **\$3,147,000,000** in value, but in the previous 50 years were only **\$1,260,000,000** in value. In the last two fiscal years the exports have been in value 427 millions, **fully a third greater** than the average in any previous decade. The exports of wheat in 22 years under Protection were **1,713 million** bushels, but in 60 preceding years they were **only 292 million** bushels, and the last two years show an average of **106 million** bushels a year, against **83 million** bushels yearly in the previous decade, 66 million bushels in the decade 1871-80, 22 million bushels in the decade 1861-70, and only  $5\frac{1}{2}$  million bushels yearly in any decade prior to the Protective tariff of 1861. The exports of flour in the last 22 years have been **162 million** barrels, but in the previous 50 years were only **97 million** barrels; in the last 22 years the average has been 13 million barrels yearly,  $9\frac{1}{2}$  million barrels yearly in the previous decade, and less than 3 million barrels in any decade prior to the tariff of 1861. The exports of corn in 22 years have been **1,215 million** bushels, but in 81 years preceding they were only **250 million** bushels. The average for the last two years was  $51\frac{1}{2}$  million bushels yearly, and a little larger in each of the two previous decades, but only 5 million bushels yearly in any decade prior to 1861. **No man, in the face of these facts, can claim that Protection has closed the world's markets to the products of American grain growers.**

#### HOW ANIMAL PRODUCTS HAVE BEEN SOLD.

Exports of animals and products of animals have enormously increased. The number of cattle exported in two years, **769,000 head**, is greater than the number in



seventy years ending with 1870, **494,000 head**, while in twenty years, ending with 1890, the number was **2,389,000 head**. Exports of bacon and hams have averaged for the past two years **592 million pounds yearly**; in the previous decade **457 millions**; in the decade ending with 1880, 418 millions; and in the decade ending with 1870 only 76 millions; the aggregate in twenty-two years has been 9,935 million pounds, while in eighty-one previous years it was only 1,262 million pounds. Exports of lard have averaged for two years past **479 million pounds yearly**, 310 millions in the previous decade, and 233 millions in the decade ending with 1880, but were not 33 million pounds yearly in any decade prior to 1861. **In twenty-two years under Protection the aggregate has been 6,391 million pounds, but in eighty-one years preceding it was only 1,490 million pounds.** These figures show clearly that the marketing of American animal products has not been checked by Protection.

#### DAIRY FARMERS NEED NOT WORRY.

Exports of dairy products have for **two years** been about **five times as great** as the average in any decade under free trade—15 million pounds yearly for butter against nearly 19 millions and 15 millions in the two previous decades, but only 3,600,000 yearly in any decade prior to 1861. **In twenty-two years the aggregate has been 371 million pounds against 253 million pounds in the seventy previous years.** Exports of cheese have averaged for two years 82 million pounds yearly, and in the previous decade 104 millions, and in the decade 1871-80 about 100 millions, but averaged only nine millions in any decade prior to 1860. **In twenty-two years the aggregate has been 2,205 million pounds against 657 million pounds in the previous eighty-one years.** Assuredly the dairy farmers do not find the world's markets closed to their markets by Protection.

#### PETROLEUM IS ALL RIGHT.

Exports of petroleum have commenced since the Protective tariff of 1861 was enacted, and have cut off to some extent the former exports of whale and other oils. But of all kinds of oils sent abroad prior to 1861 the quantity was but 105 million gallons. In thirty years since 1861 the quantity has been 8,865 million gallons. **In the last two years the quantity of petroleum alone has averaged 712 million gallons yearly, against about 540 million gallons yearly for the previous decade,** so that the world's markets are not closed to this product, but are demanding it in increased quantity.

#### WE SELL SOME TOBACCO, TOO.

Exports of tobacco cannot be exactly compared in quantity, but for the past twenty-two years have averaged about 250 million pounds yearly, and in no decade prior to 1861 did the export average more than about 160 million

pounds yearly. Against about \$20,000,000 yearly, during the past twenty years, the value before the war was in no decade \$15,000,000 yearly. Exports of turpentine now average over 12,000,000 gallons, in the last decade about 9,500,000 gallons yearly, and never before the war as much as 2,000,000 gallons yearly.

It is a favorite theory of free traders that exports of manufactured products have been checked by Protection, because it has increased the cost of production, it is claimed, making American products more costly than similar products of other countries. But a few comparisons from the official record suffice to prove that this notion is as false as other free-trade theories. In the following tables the values or quantities prior to 1861 are stated in the first column; the values or quantities in thirty years—1861-1890—under Protection in the second column, and the values or quantities for the last two fiscal years in the third column.

#### EXPORTS OF MANUFACTURED PRODUCTS.

	Up to 1861.	1861-90.	1891-2.
Agricultural Implements....		\$59,740,695	\$7,014,113
Brooms and Brushes.....	\$317,349	\$4,777,982	\$331,719
Carriages.....	\$6,448,116	\$27,389,296	\$3,960,040
Cars, Railroad, number.....		25,179	5,582
Chemicals.....	\$48,498,961	\$117,706,295	\$13,239,209
Clocks.....		\$25,475,414	\$2,325,330
Watches.....		\$2,756,681	\$484,450
Coal, Anthracite, tons.....		10,958,032	1,735,346
Coal, Bituminous, tons.....	1,147,343	10,029,613	3,172,466
Copper and manufactures....	\$9,437,730	\$90,399,193	\$11,840,989
Cotton, manufactures.....	\$150,681,203	\$245,039,692	\$23,026,069
Earthenware.....	\$626,480	\$3,090,366	\$396,957
Fertilizers.....		\$18,146,219	\$4,839,394
Glassware.....	\$3,841,299	\$22,173,853	\$1,810,676
Hemp and Flax, manufactures	\$4,097,565	\$34,940,346	\$3,503,403
India-rubber, manufactures..	\$3,899,204	\$11,522,953	\$2,652,510
Iron and steel, manufactures	\$58,827,492	\$434,551,766	\$57,710,544
Lead, manufactures.....	\$701,540	\$3,495,388	\$348,490
Leather, manufactures.....	\$21,635,556	\$173,694,139	\$25,363,628
Musical Instruments.....	\$1,380,727	\$18,492,356	\$2,491,045
Oil Cake.....	\$7,307,309	\$138,739,262	\$17,165,298
Paints and Colors.....	\$2,371,209	\$11,198,256	\$1,400,555
Paper and manufactures....	\$3,708,012	\$25,879,170	\$2,681,420
Soap, pounds.....	236,510,077	346,467,078	49,901,136
Spirits, gallons.....	70,298,352	130,067,428	5,255,802
Sugar, Refined, pounds.....	106,550,540	1,144,851,258	122,833,228
Tobacco, manufactures.....	\$31,978,223	\$84,481,133	\$8,256,093
Trunks, etc.....	\$485,146	\$4,280,405	\$374,324

#### PROTECTION DOES NOT CLOSE FOREIGN MARKETS.

In many cases it will be seen that the exports during the last two fiscal years have been larger or about as large as the exports during the 71 years before the War. Thus, in agricultural implements, brooms and brushes, railroad cars, clocks and watches, anthracite and bituminous coal, copper and its manufactures, leather and its manufactures, fertilizers, musical instruments, oil cake and refined sugar, the exports were actually greater in two years under Protection than in 71 years before the enactment of the Protective

Tariff of 1861. In iron and steel manufacture there was nearly as great a value of exports in two years as in the entire period before the War, and also in flax and hemp manufactures, rubber manufactures, paints and colors, paper and its manufactures, and trunks and valises. In all other cases the enormous increase in recent years under Protection is sufficiently shown by contrasting the quantities and values for only two years with the quantities or values for the whole period prior to the War, as in carriages, chemicals, cotton manufactures, earthenware, glassware, lead manufactures, soap, spirits, and tobacco manufactures.

The vast increase of exports under Protection demonstrates beyond the possibility of dispute that **the free trader does not tell the truth** when he pretends that Protection so enhances the cost of production as to depress and cripple American industries in comparison with those of other countries. It proves that they do not tell the truth when they pretend that Protection, by restricting imports, closes the markets of other countries against the products of the United States.

# MAGIC RECIPROCITY.

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**It Saves Nearly Sixty Million Dollars  
of Taxation, and Adds Thirty  
Millions to American  
Exports.**

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**IT IS A PRACTICAL BUSINESS MEASURE.**

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**But Democrats Oppose it.**

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Reciprocity is the compliment of a protective tariff. Both are policies based on the fact that the American market is the most valuable market in the world. The American people are consumers to an amount vastly greater than the consumption of the entire continent of Europe, and Republican statesmen hold to the theory: First, **that this great and immensely wealthy market should be as far as possible reserved for the benefit of American producers, and, Second, that foreigners who are admitted to enjoy its enormous advantages should be compelled to give corresponding advantages in return**, either by helping to defray the burdens of government or through reciprocity to supply their own needs from American producers.

It is constantly claimed by Democratic free-trade theorists that the Republican Party is opposed to a foreign trade. This claim is made, as is almost every other advanced by free traders, in wanton and grotesque defiance of the statistics of our foreign trade. The imports and exports of the United States during the period since 1860, which is the period wherein the Republican policy of Protection has been continuously pursued, are **greater than they were from the foundation of the Government until that time.** Protection has thus been consistent with the growth of a foreign trade as enormous as it is confusing to Democratic doctrinaires. But the Republican Party believes in progressive statesmanship. Glorious as its past has been, it appeals to the people, not with reminiscence so much as with new policies for the advancement and prosperity of the Nation. Of these none is more conspicuous, more impressive, more practical, or more popular than the new policy of Reciprocity with the nations of Latin America.

## **BALANCE OF TRADE AGAINST US.**

Our situation with respect to the vast trade of these Southern countries is unique, and it is from this exceptional situation that the possibility of Reciprocity proceeds. The principal productions of these countries are sugar, molasses, coffee and hides; and of these products the American people have been for many years the prin-



cial consumers. But while we have purchased of Latin America so enormously that we have long since become its best and chief customer, its supplies have been drawn mainly from Europe. Of the food stuffs and manufactures necessary to its existence, it produces substantially nothing. Everything it needs in the way of food stuffs, clothing, house-furnishing goods, machinery, and other goods in common and necessary use among the people, is brought from abroad, and the United States have hitherto supplied it with only a small and insignificant proportion of this demand.

Our trade with Brazil illustrates this fact: For the ten years preceding the year 1890 we had received of Brazil's goods and products \$502,547,258, and had sent to Brazil American products amounting in value to only \$83,432,557. **The balance against us, amounting to more than \$400,000,000, had been paid by us to Brazil in gold, and our gold had gone to Europe in the shape of bills of exchange, there to be paid by its Brazillian owners in the purchase of English, French and German products.**

A further illustration is supplied by the figures of our trade with Cuba. Every year during the last decade we have taken from Cuba goods to the value of \$52,000,000, and have returned our goods to the value of no more than \$11,000,000.

#### THE RECIPROCITY PROPOSITION.

Republican statesmanship has found a cure for this unreciprocal condition of trade. The supplies these nations have purchased in Europe are in a large measure such as we are now prepared to furnish and at rates that would enable us to compete with Europe if once the trade was turned our way. The problem which the Harrison Administration has solved is the problem of turning it. We have said to Cuba, Brazil and all other countries producing sugar, molasses, coffee and hides: **If you want us to continue to buy your products, you must increase largely your purchases of us; if you want us to give you a free and favored entrance into our markets, you must consent to give us a free and favored entrance into yours;** we are willing to buy of you, as we have been doing substantially, all the sugar, molasses, coffee and hides you can produce; our people want these goods and are willing to take them and pay liberally for them; but we are not willing to leave your goods untaxed at our custom houses while our goods are being unconscionably taxed in yours. It is unfair that we should spend with Brazil nearly \$60,000,000 a year and receive from Brazil only eleven millions; with the West Indies nearly eighty-three millions and receive only thirty-five millions; with Venezuela nearly eleven millions and receive only four millions; with Mexico nearly twenty-three millions and receive only thirteen millions, and with all the principal southern countries of Latin-America nearly two hundred millions, while receiving less than ninety-one millions. These conditions must improve and you must give us special advantages in your markets for the special advantages we give you in ours.

## CONDITIONS OF SOUTHERN TRADE.

It is important to remember these as the essential facts relating to South American trade as it existed before the adoption of the Reciprocity policy.

*First.* That we purchased a much larger proportion of their products than any other country. In many instances, as in that of Cuba and Brazil, we purchased more than all the other countries put together. Ninety per cent. of Cuba's entire exportation, and sixty per cent. of Brazil's, are consumed by the American people.

*Second.* That, although their imports consisted chiefly of agricultural and food products, machinery and the cheaper lines of dry goods, all of which we can supply as cheaply as or cheaper than any competing nation, they were being drawn almost wholly from Europe and from countries which did not buy in anything like the proportion of our purchases. In other words, the Latin American countries sold their goods to us and bought exchange on London, **thus drawing our gold to Europe for the purchase of their supplies.**

*Third.* That the chief reasons for this inequitable trade were a lack of quick, direct and regular steamship transportation between our ports and those of Latin America, a lack of banking facilities and a lack of knowledge on the part of our merchants of the conditions of trade there, especially with regard to the character of goods desired and the nature of the tariff duties exacted upon them at the port of import.

## THE TRADE IS OURS ALREADY.

It will not do at this point to omit a reference to the charge of the Free Traders that the American Tariff is responsible for our feeble export trade with South America. The Free Trader has got so in the habit of charging all of the disorders of society upon Protection that were the plagues of Egypt to befall us, he would undoubtedly insist that they were due to Protection and might easily be dissipated by the adoption of a Mills Bill. The way he puts his point about our South American trade is that we charge such high duties on raw materials as to be unable to produce in competition with European countries. You can't have an export trade, he says, if you won't take an import trade. But in this case, as the facts show, **we do have the import trade, and therefore his condition is supplied, but we don't get the export trade, and therefore his statement of cause and effect is plainly erroneous.** Moreover, the goods demanded by the South Americans are of kinds that are **not in the least affected by our tariff.** They want chiefly goods of which we are already enormous exporters. Their demand is for flour, petroleum, bacon, salted fish, cheap cotton goods, and those classes of machinery that we export even to England, France and Germany. Our Consular officers at South American ports are continually informing the State Department of large shipments of American goods to South American countries by way of Europe, dishonestly labeled as Spanish, English, German or French goods.

The circumstances under which the Reciprocity policy was proposed furnish a curious commentary upon the sincerity of Democratic statesmen. Reciprocity was the result of an extended investigation by Secretary Blaine into the statistics of our South American trade. He was conducting that investigation while other Republican statesmen in Congress were contriving the McKinley Bill. The basis of the scheme for the reduction of revenue, as designed by Speaker Reed and Congressman McKinley, was the placing of sugar on the free list. In 1889 we had received as revenue drawn from the sugar duty \$54,896,437. The framers of the McKinley Bill proposed that this enormous sum should be hereafter remitted to the people, and that sugar should come into American ports free of all revenue taxes.

But here their plan conflicted with Secretary Blaine's. He quite agreed that the American people ought to have free sugar, but he urged that by the adoption of his Reciprocity idea **they could obtain free sugar and something more besides, namely, the free entry into South American markets of American products now heavily taxed.** He reminded Congress that it had provided free entry into American ports of tea, coffee, rubber, and other Oriental and equatorial products, of which we were enormous consumers but insignificant producers. He suggested that instead of giving our market without price to the producers of these articles, we ought to have required them in return for such a valuable privilege to give us reciprocal advantages. For a brief moment it appeared as if there were a sharp controversy between President Harrison and Mr. Blaine, representing the Administration, and the Republican Statesmen in Congress, who were framing the new tariff. The Democrats hailed this supposed controversy with intense delight; they lauded Mr. Blaine and Reciprocity to the seventh heaven; they said that Reciprocity was the greatest invention of American statesmanship. Of course it was, but they found their admission all too previous and all too dangerous. For soon it developed that, as a matter of fact, there was no controversy at all between the Administration and Congress and that the Republican leaders in both departments of the Government were entirely agreed upon a plan by which the American people could obtain free sugar at once and at the same time carry out the Administration's policy of Reciprocity.

This fact appeared by the introduction of an amendment to the McKinley bill declaring that the remissions of duty upon sugar, molasses, coffee, tea and hides were made "with a view to secure reciprocal trade with countries producing" those articles, and providing that, whenever the President shall be satisfied that reciprocal favors are not granted to the products of the United States in the countries referred to, "he shall have the power, and it shall be his duty," to impose upon the articles mentioned, the products of the countries concerned, the rates of duty set forth in the general act.



## DEMOCRATIC ABUSE OF RECIPROCITY.

Immediately the Democrats concluded that Reciprocity was a humbug; that it had no virtue whatever; that Mr. Blaine, instead of being a great statesman, was a tricky, shifty politician, and that his idea, instead of being the greatest invention of American statesmanship, was nothing but a dodge to capture unthinking voters; wherefore, with one accord, from having been the devoted adherents of Reciprocity, they straightway wheeled about and every Democrat in both Houses of Congress voted against the amendment, furnishing, as Senator Hale has aptly remarked, another "illustration of what the world has seen for thirty years—that **even upon plain business propositions touching the common good of all the country and the everyday life and prosperity of the people, upon which, if anywhere, there should be no party division, the Democratic Party selects the darkness rather than the light for its standing ground.**"

But the people selected the light. From every important city in the United States; from every exporting community; from every association of farmers, manufacturers and other producers, a cataract of approving resolutions poured in upon Congress, and it was immediately apparent that the entire American Nation, without the slightest distinction of party among business men, was heartily in favor of Reciprocity. However, the Democratic politicians were not warned. From the moment of the introduction of the Reciprocity amendment until to-day nothing has come from Democratic official sources except opposition and sneers. At first it was said that no Nation would give us a Reciprocity treaty; that the President would not dare enforce the extraordinary powers committed to him under the law, and that the sagacious statesmen of these southern countries knowing that fact, would naturally decide that they could well afford to disregard the threat of a closed market. It was assiduously urged upon the attention of the representatives of these nations in Washington that the Democratic Party would soon come into power and would repeal the McKinley Act and the Reciprocity clause with it, and that they were foolish to make treaties with President Harrison's Administration when, if they would only wait a couple of years for the Democratic Party, they would obtain a free market for nothing.

This sort of talk, coming from responsible Democratic statesmen and from the newspaper organs of Democratic opinion, exerted a great influence upon southern Nations and their Ministers at Washington; they weakened the effect of the measure abroad. They made the task of our negotiators exceedingly difficult; they strengthened the hands of foreign governments who were naturally unwilling to abandon important sources of revenue at our demand. They were intended to be mischievous, and mischievous they were, and they were as unpatriotic as they were hurtful.

### MANY TREATIES MADE.

But in the end they were a conspicuous failure. Mr. Blaine, with the able assistance of the Hon. John W. Foster, his successor in the office of Secretary of State,



addressed himself in the first instance to Brazil, and convinced the Government of that country that they could not longer expect us to spend six dollars with them for every one dollar they spent with us. The result was a treaty, under which Brazil agreed to admit free a line of importations when furnished by this country, of which, in 1889, Brazil had consumed over \$20,000,000, and of which, in that year, we had furnished only \$3,394,633. It was agreed also to admit at the preferential reduction of twenty-five per cent. articles when supplied by the United States, of which the total annual importation into Brazil had been nearly \$39,000,000, and of which the United States had furnished only a little more than \$2,000,000. **Thus we were placed as against all other Nations in a favorable position in the Brazilian market for the supplying of goods, of which their total annual consumption in 1889 had been \$58,635,182, and of which in that year only \$5,430,532 had come from United States.**

The conditions of this treaty are shown in the tables following, which specify the imports into Brazil in dollars from the United States and from all other countries in 1889 of the articles which are now under the Reciprocity treaty admitted into Brazil when brought from the United States free of duty. This table shows also the rate of duty which is levied against such articles when imported from countries other than the United States:

IMPORTS INTO BRAZIL, IN DOLLARS, FREE OF DUTY WHEN EXPORTED FROM THE UNITED STATES.

Articles.	From the United States.	From all other Countries.	Total Imports.	Rate of Duty.
Wheat.....	\$150 00	\$547,845 84	\$547,995 84	Per cent. *5
Wheat flour.....	2,778,353 00	914,339 24	3,692,682 24	15
Corn or maize and the manufactures thereof, including corn meal and starch.....	21,369 00	695,285 57	716,654 57	15
Rye and rye flour.....	.....	555,737 60	555,737 60	15
Barley and buckwheat.....	.....	193,286 08	193,286 08	15
Barley and buckwheat flour.....	531 00	541,693 80	542,224 80	20
Hay and oats.....	478 00	1,039,522 00	1,040,000 00	20
Beans and peas.....	36 00	905,053 12	905,089 12	15
Potatoes.....	44,809 00	751 00	45,560 00	20
Pork, salted and pickled, and bacon, except hams.....	4,376 00	331 20	4,707 20	48
Cotton-seed oil.....	23,278 00	1,629,724 00	1,653,002 00	20 to 48
Fish, salted, dried or pickled.....	.....	6,067,380 80	6,067,380 80	*5
Coal, anthracite and bituminous.....	98,310 00	69,553 33	167,863 33	15
Rosin, tar, pitch and turpentine.....	.....	.....	.....	*5
Agricultural implements, tools and machinery.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Mining and mechanical machinery, tools and implements, including stationary and portable engines, and all machinery for manufacturing and industrial purposes, except sewing machines.....	184,652 00	2,230,627 92	2,505,279 92	15 to 48
Instruments and books for arts and sciences.....	82,752 00	492,904 50	575,656 50	15
Railroad material and equipment.....	155,539 00	635,180 76	790,719 76	5 to 15
Total.....	\$3,394,633 00	\$16,609,306 76	\$20,003,939 76	

\* Port and provincial charges, equivalent to 5 per cent. duty.

The following is a table showing the imports in dollars in the year 1889, from the United States and from all other countries, of articles which are now under the Reciprocity Treaty admitted into Brazil at a reduction, when brought from the United States, of 25% of the duty levied against such products generally:

IMPORTS INTO BRAZIL, IN DOLLARS, THE DUTIES ON WHICH WILL BE REDUCED 25 PER CENT. WHEN EXPORTED FROM THE UNITED STATES.

Articles.	From the United States.	From all other Countries.	Total Imports.	Rate of Duty.
Lard and substitutes of lard .....	\$371,399 00	\$348,166 60	\$719,565 60	Per cent. 15 to 20
Bacon hams.....	556 00	103,610 66	104,166 66	48
Butter and cheese.....	12,941 00	2,000,507 91	2,013,448 91	48
Canned and preserved meats.....	13,894 00	606,197 89	620,091 89	20 and 48
Manufactures of cotton, including cotton clothing.....	665,986 00	26,571,138 50	27,237,124 50	15 to 48
Manufactures of iron and steel single or mixed, not included in the foregoing schedule.....	522,096 00	2,361,211 00	2,883,307 00	15, 30 and 48
Leather and the manufacture of leather, except boots and shoes.....	20,196 00	3,195,185 62	3,215,381 62	30 to 50
Lumber, timber and the manufacture of wood, including cooperage, furniture of all kinds, wagons, carts and carriages.....	417,761 00	1,098,927 02	1,516,688 02	30 to 60
Manufactures of rubber.....	11,070 00	310,398 50	321,268 50	48
Total.....	\$2,085,899 00	\$56,595,343 70	\$58,631,342 70	.....

The arrangement shown in the above tables went into effect on April 1, 1891, and has been operating until the close of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1892, just fifteen months. A comparison of the trade of the fifteen months just closed, with that of the fifteen months ending on the date when the new treaty went into effect, will fairly illustrate how Reciprocity has effected our trade with Brazil thus far. Below is a table showing the exact result. **The improvement in trade has been in many respects wonderful, in all respects notable, and has been accomplished in the face of domestic conditions in Brazil which have been utterly adverse to trade of any kind.** During substantially the whole period in which Reciprocity has been operating, the Government of Brazil has had to do with revolution; one Government has been pulled down, and another set up, and fighting and disorder have been constantly going on in all the important seaboard States. There has been a net improvement in our Brazilian trade of **\$1,764,483**, or nearly **11 per cent.** Had there been a condition of domestic peace and tranquility in Brazil, it is more than clear that the improvement would have been four or five times as great. In breadstuffs the increase is over **18 per cent.**; in manufactures of iron and steel, over **93 per cent.**; in manufactures of wood, over **18 per cent.**; in glassware, over **19 per cent.**, and in general trade, over **27 per cent.** There has been a large reduction in exports of bacon, hams and lard, and a small reduction in manufactures of cotton, but the whole result is a great triumph for Republican statesman ship and for American trade:



STATEMENT showing the values of Domestic Merchandise Exported to Countries and Islands south of the United States with which Reciprocity Treaties have been established for the periods during which such Treaties have been in effect, compared with the corresponding periods of the preceding year.

BRAZIL.

Articles.	For Fifteen (15) Months Ending :				
	March 31, 1901.	June 30, 1892.	Increase.		Decrease.
	Values.	Values.	Values.	Per Ct.	Values. Per Ct.
Breadstuffs (almost entirely Flour).....	\$5,341,523	\$6,328,794	\$987,271	18.48	0
Manufactures of Cotton.....	872,449	868,777	.....	.....	.99
Chemicals, Drugs, Dyes and Medicines.....	258,712	282,906	24,194	9.35	0
Iron and Steel, and Manufactures of.....	1,654,691	3,199,650	1,544,959	93.37	0
Illuminating Mineral Oils.....	1,416,374	1,456,931	40,557	2.86	0
Provisions (mainly Bacon, Hams and Lard).....	3,238,387	1,549,512	.....	.....	52.15
Wood, and Manufactures of.....	860,855	1,016,788	155,933	18.11	0
Glass and Glassware.....	39,837	47,638	7,801	19.58	0
All other Articles.....	2,597,141	3,298,456	701,315	27.00	0
Total value of Domestic Merchandise.....	\$16,279,969	\$18,044,452	\$1,764,483	10.84	

Following closely upon the Brazilian treaty came one with Spain in behalf of her West Indian colonies, Cuba and Porto Rico. This was much more difficult of negotiation, and has proven to be much more valuable in its concessions. For many years Cuba, though politically dependent upon Spain, has been commercially dependent upon the United States. Of her total exports we have received about 90 per cent. In 1890 they amounted to \$53,801,591. But the Cuban tariff, enacted by Spain to compel the Cubans to buy Spanish goods, has permitted us to sell to Cuba only about 20 per cent. as much as we have bought. Our exports in 1890 amounted to only \$13,084,415. Until the formal notification to Spain of our intention to enforce the penal clauses of the Reciprocity amendment, she had listened to our suggestions looking to the improvement of the situation with regard to Cuba with only a languid interest. The adoption of that amendment, however, was to the Cubans either the sword of death or the pledge of emancipation. Retaliation meant utter ruin, free trade with the United States meant unbounded prosperity. Spain was promptly confronted on the one hand with the formal demands of a country she could not longer afford to resist, and with the demands of a colony she could not afford to fight. The Cubans to a man arrayed themselves in support of Mr. Blaine's requirements, and enormous delegations presented themselves at Madrid demanding the adoption of a Reciprocity treaty.

The American negotiator was General Foster, now Secretary of State, and within three months after the publication of the Brazilian treaty he had obtained an agreement with Spain conceding a provisional tariff schedule, going into effect on September 1, 1891, and holding good until July 1, 1892, and a permanent schedule going into effect on the latter date, when certain embarrassing commercial treaties between Spain and various European countries expired. American salt, canned goods, lard, tallow, fish, oats, barley, rye, starch, cotton-seed oil, hay, fruits, vegetables, woods and wooden manufactures, wagons, sewing machines, petroleum, coal and ice were admitted free of duty; and, at rates greatly reduced from the regular rates, American wheat, corn, flour and meal, butter, refined petroleum and boots and shoes were permitted to enter Cuban and Porto Rican ports. The permanent schedule places on the free list all American exports of marble, jasper and other building stones and earth, mineral waters, ice, coal, resinous substances, crude petroleum, clay, pig iron, cast iron and wrought iron, cotton, cotton-seed oil, tallow, books, woods and wooden manufactures, manure, implements, tools and machines, shipbuilding materials, salt and canned meats, lard, butter, cheese and fish, starch, fruits and vegetables, hay, trees and tan barks; and, at rates variously reduced from the regular rates, American exports are admitted of corn, corn meal, wheat, wheat flour, carriages, wagons and cars, glass, earthenware, needles and cutlery, metals, furniture, broom corn and rushes, rice, manufactures of rubber, petroleum, cotton goods, rope, paints, soap, perfumes, medicines, leather goods, boots and shoes, trunks and harness, clocks and watches and carriages.

The result of the operation of the provisional treaty is shown in the following table. There has been a net increase in our Cuban trade in ten months of \$5,702,197 or 54.86%. In bread stuffs the increase has been from \$710,720 to \$2,195,098, or over 20%; in cotton goods the increase has been 15%; in chemicals, 41%; in manufactures of iron and steel, 41%; in mineral oils, 31%; in manufactures of leather, 83%; in provisions, mainly bacon, hams and lard, 51%; in manufactures of wood, 31%; in glassware, 22%; in vegetables, 171%. There has been nowhere a decrease, and the increase has been a growing one month by month.

## CUBA.

Articles.		Ten (10) months ending June 30.					
		1891.		1892.		Increase.	
		Values.		Values.		Values.	Per Ct.
Breadstuffs (almost entirely Flour).....		\$710,720		\$2,195,098		\$1,484,378	208.86
Manufactures of Cotton.....		85,281		98,282		13,001	15.24
Chemicals, Drugs, Dyes and Medicines.....		227,057		320,729		93,672	41.25
Iron and Steel, and Manufactures of.....		2,740,279		3,876,350		1,136,071	41.46
Mineral Oil.....		321,743		424,596		102,853	31.97
Manufactures of Leather.....		124,617		229,153		104,536	83.89
Provisions (mainly Bacon, Hams and Lard).....		2,513,108		3,811,183		1,298,075	51.65
Wood, and Manufactures of.....		1,093,739		1,438,058		344,319	31.48
Glass and Glassware.....		58,576		71,599		13,023	22.23
Vegetables.....		186,576		507,432		320,856	171.97
All other articles.....		2,331,575		3,122,988		791,413	33.94
Total value of domestic Merchandise.....		\$10,393,271		\$16,095,468		\$5,702,197	54.86
						0	0



Reciprocity is thus an accomplished fact. It is doing its destined work. Practically the entire surplus of the sugar-growing countries comes upon the American breakfast table **without one cent of taxation at any point between the producer and the consumer.** We have free sugar; nearly \$60,000,000 per year are being left in the people's pockets that formerly came out into the public treasury, and by the manner in which this has been accomplished **thirty millions of export trade** have been obtained for our farmers and manufacturers which were formerly denied to them. Well may the Republican platform describe this policy as a "practical business measure."

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#### **A Business Administration.**

I have tried to make this a business Administration. Of course, we cannot wholly separate politics from a national Administration; but I have felt that every public officer owed his best service to the people without distinction of party; that in administering official trusts we were in a very strict sense—not merely in a figurative sense—your servants. It has been my desire that in every branch of the public service there should be improvement. I have stimulated all the Secretaries, and have received stimulus from them in the endeavor, in all the departments of the Government that touch your business life, to give you as perfect a service as possible. This we owe to you; but if I were pursuing party ends I should feel that I was by such methods establishing my party in the confidence of the people.

—**BENJAMIN HARRISON.**

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#### **The Greatest Is Agriculture.**

The farmers of the Republic will control its destiny. Agriculture, Commerce and Manufactures are the three pursuits that enrich a nation, but the greatest of these is agriculture, for without its products the spindle cannot turn, and the ship will not sail. Agriculture furnishes the conservative element in society, and in the end is the guiding, restraining, controlling force in government. Against storms of popular fury; against frenzied madness that seeks collision with established order; against theories of administration that have drenched other lands in blood; against the spirit of Anarchy that would sweep away the landmarks and safeguards of Christian society and Republican Government, the farmers of the United States will stand as the shield and the bulwark—they themselves the willing subjects of law—and, therefore, its safest and strongest administrators.

—**JAMES G. BLAINE.**

# CURRENCY AND COINAGE

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## Republicans for Safe and Genuine Bimetallism and Honest Money.

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## MORE MONEY AND BAD MONEY THE DEMOCRATIC AIM.

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### Policies Contrasted.

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There have always been three opinions about currency and the coinage. Some money lenders who are money monopolists want scarcer money that it may be dearer. Bankrupts who have borrowed more than they can pay, speculators who have gambled on the wrong side, debtors who are dishonest, want more money and bad money, so that large debts can be paid with small values. The honest wage-earners, the tillers of the soil, and other producers who would rob no man, want more money but good money. More money, they believe, is required by the constant growth of commerce and industry. Bad money, they know, would rob everybody, and the toilers and producers most of all.

### WHERE PARTIES STAND.

No party has ever favored money monopolists, a contraction of the currency, or an unchanged volume of circulation which, with growing business, would involve a relative contraction. The Democratic party, as facts will prove, has always favored the money sharks and the dishonest debtors. The Republican party has always favored the wage-earners and honest producers. Democrats have fought for more money, not caring how bad it might be. Republicans have given the country an ever-increasing volume of money, every dollar of which is absolutely good.

### THE REPUBLICAN A BIMETALLIC PARTY.

Nine-tenths of the people are bimetallists. They want both money metals used, because they believe both needed to sustain the world's commerce. The Republican party intelligently and honestly answers their wishes. President Harrison is a bimetallist, as his official papers and his speeches plainly show. The Republican platform declares for bimetallism, and in that respect faithfully represents the course of the party. Every measure for the past thirty years, looking to a larger use of silver, has been passed by Republican votes. But the Republican bimetallism is genuine. It does not blunderingly offer gold monometallism or silver monometallism through sheer stupidity, imagining that either is the thing the people want. Democracy has proposed measures that would

drive all gold out of use in this country, and has been ignorant enough or dishonest enough to call that bimetalism.

#### DISHONEST MONEY DEMOCRATIC.

It has been the party of dishonest money for many years. Under its fostering laws and rascally partisan officials, there grew up, before the War, State bank systems which robbed the people of \$36,000,000 yearly. When an honest national currency was proposed, as a measure necessary to save the Union in the stress of civil war, the Democratic party had neither love enough for sound money nor patriotism enough to refrain from malignant opposition. Then it denounced the notes of the Government as unconstitutional; a little later it demanded the issue of enough of these same notes to render them worthless.

#### REPUDIATION.

In 1868, if Republicans had not prevented, it would have forced public creditors to accept these same unconstitutional notes in payment of bonds. When Republicans proposed to restore the notes to par, making every dollar of them as good as the gold it promised, the Democratic party denounced the measure at the East as a farce and a fraud which could never be carried out, and at the West as infamous tyranny and wholesale robbery. It tried to cheat both sections by pretending devotion to the ideas of both. Since Resumption has blessed all sections alike with wonderful prosperity, the Democratic party has tried to make the silver question a pretext for such paper inflation as would give dishonest debtors the greatest advantage.

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### SILVER COINAGE.

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**Democratic Bills Mean Unlimited Paper Driving Out All Coin.**

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#### GENUINE BIMETALLISM NECESSARY.

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Nearly all agree that bimetalism is desirable. But a difference of opinion arises as to the best means of bringing about a settled or fixed parity between gold and silver, so that silver may be restored to general monetary use. On this diversity of opinion the discussion of the silver question is chiefly based. In this country the popular voice has repeatedly been so decisive that the desirability of reaching the bimetallic standard may be considered beyond dispute. But the means of reaching that desired end may continue for some time the subject of grave and thoughtful consideration.

## A LARGER MONETARY BASIS.

The Republican policy seeks a broader monetary basis. The world's commerce expands so rapidly—the volume of paper currency and of various credit substitutes for money, which must be supported by the specie basis, has become so vast—that scarcely any can be found to deny that commerce and industry would be safer if the entire stock of \$3,711,845,000 gold and \$3,939,578,000 silver in the world (see Estimate by Director Leech of the Mint, Table A), could be freely employed as a foundation, instead of only a part of that amount. As matters stand, in the great commercial nations of the world the credit system and commercial exchanges now rest upon the stock of gold as the only basis. A bimetallic system would render the commerce and industry of those nations safer and more healthy.

Serious losses and great risks are incurred through the constant disturbance of exchanges between gold-using and silver-using countries. Even in Great Britain, where gold monometallism is worshipped as it is nowhere else, the greatest statesmen and the most powerful Boards of Trade are at their wits' ends to discover some way of escaping the frightful losses in commerce with the East, which have this very year involved great banks and firms in ruin.

## FLUCTUATIONS AND DISTURBANCES LESSENED.

It is desirable to have as stable a monetary basis as possible, and fluctuations and disturbances springing from sudden increase or decrease in the yearly production of one metal or the other would be lessened if the monetary mass serving as a basis for all exchanges and credits were nearly doubled. A difference of \$40,000,000 in the gold production of a single year is now more than 1 per cent. of the whole stock of specie available for exchanges between Western nations. With silver restored it would be only half of one per cent. Because the Republican Party gives full weight to arguments in favor of a bimetallic basis it has not ceased to strive for concurrence of commercial nations in the final restoration of that metal.

## SAFETY MUST NOT BE SACRIFICED.

But neither does it flinch from the supreme duty of maintaining for the people a safe and honest currency. Soundness and safety first—after that all the expansion of currency that growing commerce and industry may need—is the Republican rule. Thus far other nations do not consent to bear their part in the restoration of silver, nor to take any steps in that direction. What the United States can do alone without impairing the soundness or risking the safety of its own monetary system is the problem which the Republican Party has steadily endeavored to solve. True progress never loses sight of true conservatism. Republican progress has done much, and at every step it has been guarded by determination not to sacrifice the solid good already attained—the inestimable blessings of a sound currency, as good as that of any other nation.



## AMERICANS WANT THE BEST MONEY.

Republicans do not mean that the money of this nation should come to be inferior to that of other commercial nations. This people, they hold, have a right to enjoy the very best money that can be had. If Great Britain, or France, or Germany should have in use a better money than ours, that fact would put all our producers and merchants in legitimate trade at a fearful disadvantage, and would help only those engaged in gambling, as painful experience with a depreciated currency during and after the War abundantly proved. But would the American currency remain as sound and good as that of other nations if this country alone should undertake unlimited coinage of silver? Until the step can be taken with safety, the Republican Party does not risk the incalculable evils which a separation in purchasing power between the currency of this and other nations would bring upon our people. That would inevitably mean the use of two kinds of dollars at home, differing in value.

### THE DEMOCRATIC SILVER BILL.

This bill, reported by Representative Bland from the Democratic Coinage Committee of the House, which was supported by the great majority of Democrats in that body, was not in any sense an honest free-coinage bill. It was not calculated to help, but to prevent, agreement of nations regarding the use of gold and silver. It was never intended to help American silver producers, but only to use them and their friends as the cat's-paws of Democratic demagogues. This is plain, because the bill provided for unlimited issues of a new kind of paper money against all the silver of the world that might be brought to the mints. It would have disorganized and driven from use the forms of paper currency to which the people have become accustomed, which they love for its incalculable services to the nation in the past, and which they know to be as good as gold, and accepted without hesitation or discount by every banker or trader in every part of the land. To extinguish all the kinds of paper money that are thus known and approved by experience, and to substitute a new kind, redeemable in silver coins, to be issued in absolutely unlimited amount, would be to bring a monetary earthquake instead of genuine progress.

### TO DRIVE OUT GOLD.

This bill, falsely called a free-coinage measure, would have driven gold out of use and out of the country. For other nations needing gold in their struggles with each other, and having enormous stores of unused silver, would have made haste to sell their silver at almost any price and draw away our gold. Paper obtained for the bullion could be passed through Clearing Houses or sold, and gold obtained instead. With unlimited issues of this paper coming, many business men would surely have hoarded their gold or sent it abroad, a danger which Chairman Bland, of the Democratic House Committee, admitted in his report recommending the bill. In a single year this country has taken in more than \$150,000,000 thus invested by for-

eigners. How would its business fare if as great a sum of money should be drawn out quickly from the channels of trade?

#### FOREIGN DISTRUST WARRANTED.

The distrust of such a measure would have been entirely justified, for every business man knows that giving 129 pieces of new paper called dollars for 100 ounces of silver bullion would not have imparted to the paper the value of \$129 in gold, nor any other fixed value whatever. The question would then have instantly arisen, "What is the Bland paper worth?" No new use of silver coin was provided by this measure to give silver bullion a higher value, but the paper would have pushed silver out of use entirely. Giving paper of unknown value for silver bullion would not have fixed or lifted the value of the bullion. Neither could the bullion, being itself not fixed in value in the world's markets, give a fixed value to the paper.

#### DEPRECIATION OF SUCH PAPER.

This Democratic measure, falsely called a coinage bill, would have thrust into circulation over \$1,000,000,000 of the new kind of paper in place of various kinds of money now in established use, besides \$129,000,000 more of such paper for every 100,000,000 ounces of silver brought to the mints. When this nation had outstanding less than \$700,000,000 in paper of all kinds, the value of the national currency dropped to 38.7 cents on the dollar (see Tables B and C). Who can guess what an unlimited issue of new paper would be worth? As much as the silver, Democrats would say. But what would the silver be worth? Obviously, as much as the paper, paid for it at the mint. Nobody could tell how far silver would then fall in the world's markets. Redemption of the new notes in silver would have no practical value. How many men would send a wagon to haul away a ton of coins in order to pay a commercial debt of \$30,000? What workingman, earning \$100 per month, would ask to have 100 silver dollars paid to him instead of paper?

#### NO HELP FOR SILVER.

The Bland paper dollar would be in practice irredeemable, and would sink in purchasing power, no one can tell how far. The silver bullion at the mint would be worth no more than the paper there given for it. Elsewhere it would sink with certainty, because the emptying of unused silver upon this country and the hoarding of gold here would make the premium on gold mount rapidly. Instead of helping silver producers, this Democratic measure would have been the worst for them that could be conceived. Instead of free coinage, it would have substituted paper unlimited in quantity and unlimited in depreciation. In such paper the workingmen would be paid their wages, and in such paper the farmer would receive pay for his products. Instead of progress, this would be shooting Niagara, to end in the Gulf of Repudiation.

## DEPRECIATED MONEY NOT WANTED.

The people have tried a depreciated paper currency, and want no more of it. The South has seen \$200 paid for a pair of boots, and \$50 for a poor dinner. The North has seen the cost of living—payments being made in depreciated paper—rise far beyond the wages of labor, so that in 1864, though men could earn in paper 37 per cent. more than in 1860, they could buy with their wages 36 per cent. less than in 1860. Never again, by consent of the people, North or South, will the American dollar be cut adrift from the money of the civilized world, so that it shall become poorer money in power to buy necessities or comforts of life than any other money used by civilized nations. The Bland unlimited paper bill, the latest exhibition of Democratic statesmanship and Democratic honesty, ought to be detested by the miner, by the toiler in the fields and shops, as heartily by the banker with whom they deposit.

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## THE SILVER MEASURES OF REPUBLICANS.

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### Prices of Silver Bullion Under Two Administrations.

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#### THE ACT OF 1890.

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### THE REPUBLICAN NOT THE CALAMITY PARTY.

The Republican party has not framed and voted for bills to bring a financial earthquake, with the notion that such bills would tickle ignorant voters. It has respected the intelligence of the people, remembered its grave responsibility, and framed measures which have borne the test of stern experience. It has never tried to make a living by pretending that the people were ruined or robbed. It has never tried to make voters believe their calamities so intolerable that a dishonest course would be excusable, nor has it cultivated desperation as a pretext for reckless and crazy means of relief. It is not the calamity party, but prospers with the public prosperity. Bad crops, devastating storms, national disasters, are never expected to help any other than the Democratic party. The people have prospered grandly under Republican measures, and every glad harvest home is a Republican rejoicing; every new factory or mill or mine is a Republican fortress, and every dollar added to the nation's wealth is an evidence of Republican sagacity and fidelity to duty.

### SILVER DEMONETIZED BY DEMOCRATS.

Silver was actually driven out of use as money in this country by a Democratic blunder in the Act of 1853. For seven years thereafter it was exported, because legally made more valuable to export than to keep in circulation



as coin. Democratic rebellion, and the loans necessary to resist it, drove gold also out of the country, and, while paper only was used as currency, silver was still relatively more valuable than gold, so that, after nearly twenty years of practical disuse, its coinage was stopped. It is now of no avail to argue about the responsibility for the discontinuance of silver coinage. But the practical question is not how the trouble began, but how to get out of it.

### THE REPUBLICAN POLICY.

In the face of demonetization by other nations, the Republican party set itself to do what it could to secure for silver a larger monetary use, and to enlist European powers in measures for its full restoration. The act framed by the Republican Senate in 1878 provided for limited coinage of silver. It was savagely denounced by Democrats, but, after twelve years of experience, was found to have done no harm. Specie payments had been resumed, silver had circulated all the time at par with gold, and silver certificates at par with gold certificates. Under Republican Administrations the price of silver declined not at all, but was actually higher in October, 1884, than it had been in October, 1878. Then a Democratic President was elected, and before another Presidential election came the price of silver bullion had dropped 8.71 pence per ounce, about 17 per cent. (see Table D). The belief that a change from the safe and conservative Republican policy must come was in large measure the cause of this extraordinary decline.

### PRESIDENT HARRISON'S ADMINISTRATION.

With the election of President Harrison silver began to recover steadily, and his first message made it clear that he did not believe in depreciating a product of American mines. By him and by his Secretary of the Treasury measures were suggested to promote the larger use of silver, but the necessity of securing international agreement on the subject was strongly urged. The Republican Congress of 1890, in part accepting the suggestions of the Administration, passed a law requiring purchase of 4,500,000 ounces of silver each month, a quantity as large as was then produced by the mines of this country. With the quantity required for use in the arts, the whole silver product of this country is taken from the world's markets. This measure also was savagely denounced by Democrats, but has thus far proved safe.

### RESULT OF THE ACT OF 1890.

Under this act silver bullion rose rapidly to 55 pence per ounce, and at New York to \$1.21, so that a gain of 13 pence per ounce in two years followed Republican victory. Before the full effect of the measure could be tested, Democratic denunciation of it and clamor for its repeal were followed in November, 1890, by sweeping Democratic victories. A House pledged to free coinage was elected, so strongly Democratic that a change of policy was deemed inevitable. From that day silver rapidly declined. It was 48.62 pence per ounce Novem-



ber 1, 1890, and fell to  $37\frac{1}{8}$  pence per ounce August 18, 1892, when a Democratic Congress had proved the falsity of its professions and pledges. This fall of  $10\frac{3}{4}$  pence per ounce, or  $22\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. in 22 months, shows how little the Democratic victories in 1890 have helped silver. Never has there been so great a decline at any other time within so short a period.

### MERITS OF THE REPUBLICAN ACT.

This step toward a larger use of silver was profoundly distrusted by many, but it has manifested its helpful power in a serious emergency, and may have saved the country from grave financial disturbance. Last year Russia suddenly demanded great sums in gold from banks and bankers of Western Europe. At the same time failures in South America and other disasters increased the pressure abroad. Those bankers, in defending themselves, caused large sales of American securities, and railroad and even municipal bonds to a large amount were returned to this country, and gold was drawn away. The exports of gold began in February, and in six months the net outgo from this country was nearly \$75,000,000.

### A SEVERE TEST.

Precisely such a sudden drain of gold has been a thousand times mentioned with fear as the one thing that might cause a collapse of confidence in American currency—hoarding of gold and redemption of notes at the Treasury. Treasury reserves were unusually low, and Democrats, with accustomed patriotism, seized the occasion to declare it bankrupt, and to create all the distrust they could. But wise management by the Administration averted all danger. The gold went abroad without occasioning any pressure in financial circles. In its place the Act of 1890 put out \$27,000,000 of new Treasury notes. No distrust of the Treasury appeared, nor the least disposition to draw gold for circulating notes, and at the end of the six months, though \$75,000,000 gold had left the country, the Treasury held only \$17,000,000 less gold.

### AN EXPANDING CIRCULATION.

The Republican party does not believe that any good is done by confining a growing trade with cast-iron restrictions of the volume of currency. The business of the country increases far more rapidly than its population, and while it makes credit currency for itself to a large extent, some expansion of the monetary basis contributes to safety and freedom of development. As Secretary Windom stated, a moderate increase in the circulation, not disturbing the relations between the volume of money and the volume of trade, can involve no danger, and for such an increase the Act of 1890 provides. The official record proves (see Table B) that the Republican policy has for 15 years since the resumption of specie payments gradually and prudently expanded the circulation, so that instead of \$16.75 for each inhabitant July 1, 1878, it was \$24.47 for each inhabitant July 1, 1892.

## AN IMPORTANT DIFFERENCE.

Under President Cleveland's Administration the currency slightly decreased, from \$23.02 in 1885 to \$22.52 in 1889. But under President Harrison's Administration it has increased about \$223,000,000, nearly \$2 per capita. In consequence, while the increased volume is fully employed at certain seasons, the current rate of interest has been generally somewhat reduced, notwithstanding the enormous expansion of business. Since 1888, the last year of President Cleveland's Administration, actual payments through Clearing Houses have increased 29.3 per cent. Against this the actual circulation has increased 16.8 per cent. in the four years, not enough to alarm the most cautious and conservative.

## AMERICAN SILVER ALL USED.

The new Treasury notes circulate freely everywhere without objection or discount, are interchangeable with gold, receivable at custom-houses, and possessed of equal debt-paying powers. Over \$104,000,000 of such notes have been added to the circulation, and the credit of the Government is as strong as it was before any were issued. Meanwhile all American silver, not required for use in the arts, is taken by Government and added to its metallic reserve. The silver producers have a far better market for their product than if they could get for it, under the Bland bill, a fixed price, but only in paper of unknowable value, which the invasion of foreign silver in indefinite quantity, and the unlimited issues of the new paper, would surely cause to depreciate.

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## INTERNATIONAL ACCORD.

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### Conference of Nations Called.

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## DEMOCRACY THE CHIEF OBSTACLE.

The Republican party has neglected no opportunity to promote a broader and permanent settlement of the silver question through international agreement. The Administration of President Harrison has labored to this end with greater prospect of success than has rewarded any previous efforts. After much negotiation, looking toward international co-operation in reopening the mints of the world to the coinage of silver upon some agreed ratio, an invitation to a monetary conference has been sent out by the United States, and has been accepted by all the great commercial nations of Europe. The declared object of the United States, in extending the invitation, was to bring about, if possible, through international agreement, the re-establishment of bimetallism.

## THE REPUBLICAN PLAN.

This the Republican party has steadily sought to accomplish by safe and conservative steps, believing it would be a permanent blessing to this and other countries. In spite of stubborn foreign opposition it has persisted. In spite of sneers and derision from those who believe that safe and harmonious use of both metals is no longer possible, it has persisted. At length the losses and necessities of other nations have prepared them to consider the subject seriously, and, in the spirit of Lord Salisbury, to seek earnestly some means of permanent monetary readjustment.

### FREE COINAGE WOULD DEFEAT THE EFFORT.

Negotiations with other powers have made it clear that free coinage of silver, by the United States alone, would put an end to all hope of such agreement. By that step this country would take upon itself all the risk of undertaking to receive and pay gold for the silver which other powers now hold unused. Whether this attempt here should ultimately succeed or quickly fail, it would at least give opportunity for a time to all other nations to increase their store of gold and lessen their stock of unavailable silver, and by sending hither quick orders to sell in large amounts they would greatly strengthen their own position. If the attempt here should succeed, they could join in it at any time without risk. If it should fail, they could then renew negotiations for some international agreement; but in any event would be the stronger for the supply of gold drawn from this country.

### BRITISH TRADE WITH INDIA.

Enormous losses in British trade with India have compelled statesmen of Great Britain to inquire anxiously what can be done to put that trade on a more healthy basis. It is even proposed by the Indian Monetary Association to close the mints of India entirely against the coinage of silver, and British financial journals are now discussing that proposition at length, pointing out that it would fail to bring any relief, but would greatly restrict the trade of India with silver-using countries. Instead, Sir David Barbour, the Indian Minister of Finance, at last publicly declares that "a common standard of value for England and India is absolutely essential," and proposes the "adoption of the system of double legal tender by international agreement." With such an appeal from the officials of its most important dependency, the British Government would doubtless be ready to concede much in order to secure an international settlement of the question. But free coinage in this country alone would at once put an end, at least for a time, to this willingness. Great Britain would then wait to see how far the action of the United States might give relief to British commerce with Eastern countries, and what chance there might be of forcing this and other countries to a silver basis.

### DEMOCRATIC AGITATION A GREAT OBSTACLE. •

Constant Democratic clamor for free coinage in this country alone, however faithless and insincere, has strongly impressed other nations with the idea that, if they put off



action a little longer, Democratic victory in this country may give them a golden opportunity. The great obstacle to negotiations has been the belief that the Democratic party, succeeding in the coming election, would establish free coinage here without waiting for or seeking action by other powers. Though favored by unprecedented circumstances abroad, and signally successful thus far, negotiations are blocked until after the election by the idea that the next Administration may be hostile to the present policy of the Government.

#### DANGER OF ACTING ALONE.

Standing alone among the great commercial nations, the United States would attempt free coinage with great risk and difficulty. Each and all would be anxious to get what gold they could from this country without giving the United States a fair chance to determine how far its single-handed effort would go towards restoring bimetallism. If other nations did not hold American bonds and stocks and other obligations to an enormous amount, which could be sent hither by holders for quick realization, the risk would be less, and the chance of drawing away gold and breaking the credit of the United States in the midst of its undertaking would be much smaller. The Democratic party, as usual, is fighting for foreign countries and against the interests of this country when it insists that our Government shall open its mint to the unlimited coinage of silver without an effort to reach any agreement with other nations.

#### THE PRESIDENT SHOULD BE SUSTAINED.

The Republican party is abundantly able to settle this question, as it has settled every other great question yet committed to its charge—safely, wisely and honestly. It needs only to be upheld by the people in serving their interests. If it is confirmed in the possession of power by a verdict of the people this year, the President will then be able to speak with the unquestioned authority of the great Republic in dealing with foreign powers. He will not then be crippled by the doubt in foreign minds whether a change of Administration may not bring a total change of policy. When foreign powers are assured that the United States will gladly join them in restoring bimetallism for the common good of all, but will not suffer them to break its credit or destroy its prosperity for their own advantage, they will quickly see that it is the part of wisdom to join in settling the long-vexed problem of the monetary basis.



# WILD-CAT BANKS.

## Democrats Against All Honest Money.

### HOW THE OLD STATE BANKS PLUNDERED THE PEOPLE.

#### A Scheme Hostile to Silver and Gold.

A party having so detestable a record as that of the Democratic party might despair of making it worse. But, among other things at once ridiculous and offensive, the Democratic Convention declared: "We recommend that the prohibitory 10 per cent. tax on State bank issues be repealed." If this means anything, it means to revive the wild-cat banking system which disgraced and robbed the country in days of Democratic supremacy, the fitting financial outcome of that political barbarism which upheld slavery and rebelled against a free government. The old State banks, the infamous party favoritism behind them, their wholesale plunder of the people, and the frightful obstacles which they placed in the way of civilized commerce or individual prosperity, are yet remembered with loathing by those who did business or received wages in the years before the Rebellion.

#### THE CURSE OF BAD MONEY.

State banks, with no uniform security for bill holders, nor any security save such as the politicians in power happened to require in any State, formerly sent their bills all over the country. Whether those bills were good, bad or doubtful, nobody could be sure, nor how great a shave he might have to bear if he tried to use one of them in buying anything or paying any debt. A bank-note detector was as necessary an item of expense to every business man as the rent of his store, but the millions of working-men who could not afford that protection were robbed without limit. Official returns state that there were 1,422 State banks in the country in 1858, but "Thompson's Detector" of January 2, 1958, published a list of broken, closed and worthless State banks, numbering 758, in the different States as follows:

#### STATE BANKS MORE THAN HALF BROKEN.

Maine.....	48
New Hampshire.....	22
Vermont.....	12
Massachusetts.....	56
Rhode Island.....	13
Connecticut.....	10
New York City.....	42
"    "    State.....	147

Total, N. Y. .... 189

New Jersey.....	38
Pennsylvania .....	63
Maryland.....	23
Delaware.....	3
District Columbia.....	46
Virginia.....	3
North Carolina.....	2
South Carolina .....	2
Georgia.....	13
Ohio.....	64
Indiana.....	68
Illinois.....	16
Michigan.....	25
Wisconsin .....	7
Kentucky.....	6
Tennessee.....	7
Louisiana.....	10
Alabama.....	9

Mr. Thompson, the veteran editor of the "Bank Note Detector," estimated that the loss of bill holders in only ten years ending with 1860 was \$75,000,000, which averaged more than \$13.85 for every family in the land. Others estimated the loss from broken banks alone at five per cent. every year on the whole circulation. With the present paper circulation of more than a thousand millions, this would mean over \$50,000,000 every year. But for thirty years not one bill holder has ever lost a single dollar by the breaking of banks established under Republican laws.

#### PAPER AT A DISCOUNT.

This was not the worst of the vile system which the Democratic Party proposes to revive. Because not even the author of a detector could tell from day to day what bank had failed since his last advices. Bills of nearly all banks were taken only at a discount to insure against the prospect of loss. On the banks of the different States the discount quoted by "Thompson's Detector" January 2, 1858, was as follows:

East New Jersey.....	$\frac{1}{4}$	Discount.
New England (except R. I.).....	$\frac{3}{8}$	"
New York State.....	$\frac{3}{8}$	"
Delaware.....	$1\frac{1}{4}$	"
Philadelphia.....	$1\frac{1}{4}$	"
Canada.....	$1\frac{1}{4}$	"
West New Jersey.....	$1\frac{1}{2}$	"
Rhode Island.....	$1\frac{1}{2}$	"
Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana and Missouri...	2	"
New Orleans and Mobile.....	2	"
Interior Pennsylvania.....	$2\frac{3}{4}$	"
Baltimore banks.....	$3\frac{1}{4}$	"
South Carolina and Georgia .....	$3\frac{3}{4}$	"
Interior Maryland .....	4	"
Virginia.....	5	"
Illinois and Wisconsin .....	$5\frac{3}{4}$	"
North Carolina .....	$6\frac{1}{2}$	"

These were the rates charged for consenting to take notes of the banks supposed to be sound in the various

States, and that at New York, the centre of financial information. What rates of discount were charged in the different States on notes from banks of other States no one can say; it must be left to the imagination.

#### MODERN COMMERCE IMPOSSIBLE.

With such a currency in circulation, nobody could enter into large engagements based upon receiving money in distant States without charging for the risk of uncurrent money or discount a percentage so great that, in these days, it would make transactions impossible. The whole interior trade of this already great and rapidly growing nation was stunted and blighted to an extent which can be realized only by those who had to endure the nuisance of Democratic State banks. Payments of 60,000 millions are now made in a year with not the loss of a dollar from bad bills, or discount to protect against uncurrent money. But the discount alone on the present volume of payments at the rates above stated would exceed \$100,000,000 yearly.

#### STATE'S RIGHTS FOLLY AGAIN.

It is to sensible Democrats a marvel that their own or any other party should ever propose to bring back upon the country so deadly a curse, and they blurt out with quite superfluous wrath their amazement at the stupidity of their Convention. They ought to know by this time that the stock of folly in that party is inexhaustible. For thirty years this moss-grown and fossilized concern has been blundering itself out of all its chances, and smashing its head against every stone wall it could reach, and yet it knows no more now than it knew when it solemnly denounced the creation of national banks in 1862. Now, as then, it stupidly supposes that everything done by the State must be right, and that nothing can be done as it ought to be by the General Government of all the States.

#### CONSEQUENCES OF REPEAL—A CORRUPT SYSTEM.

Nothing, except the tax on State-bank circulation, has for thirty years prevented the starting of such banks by the thousand. No man in the least acquainted with practical business will doubt that the evils of the system would speedily become as great as they ever were. States, whose bonds sell all the way from nothing up to par, would not fail to provide for an endless crop of banks without delay. As in old time, the control of State officials over the banks would be used by unscrupulous partisans. There was no end to the base uses to which the State-bank system was applied, and he knows little of the Democratic Party who imagines that it has grown more virtuous with advancing age.

#### A FLOOD OF DEPRECIATED PAPER.

With a swarm of State banks, each pouring out paper, the value of which no one in other States could know, there would come another era of wild paper inflation, such as ended in the crash of 1857. The country would be flooded with bank notes, which would drive out of use,

not only gold, but also silver, which would be quite too costly and luxurious a currency for the man who could get wild-cat bank notes. Monometallism would go, bimetallism would go, any and every kind of honest money would go, and instead Democrats would give us wild-catism.

#### STUPIDITY BORN OF COWARDICE.

This piece of amazing stupidity in the Democratic party had its origin in cowardice and bad faith. The party did not dare to avow responsibility for the Bland unlimited paper bill, for which the large majority of Democrats in Congress had voted. It had neither the sense nor the courage to devise a real silver policy in accord with its pledges to voters. Incapable of devising anything new, wanting the courage or the intelligence to carry out its pledges to constituencies throughout the country, the party followed its natural instinct by returning to the past and proposing to resurrect the most vicious and ruinous banking system the world has ever known.

#### TRYING TO DODGE ITS OWN PLEDGES.

It was worthy of Democratic sagacity to suppose that the question of bimetallism for all the world could be effectually side-tracked, and put out of Mr. Cleveland's way, by proposing to allow irresponsible persons all over the country to start cross-road banks, and to flood the country with substitutes for money. Incapable of comprehending the aims of honest bimetallists, this party imagined they wanted only more dollars, with no care about the value of the dollars, and that it would suit them perfectly to let every man set up a more-money shop of his own, and print so-called dollars to his heart's content. So it comes to pass that the party pledged to free coinage proposes to the people, as its idea of financial reform, to sweep out of use every kind of coin.

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### THE PARTIES CONTRASTED.

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#### Democracy False to Silver.

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#### FALSE TO ITSELF.

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The contrast between the two great parties is in nothing more discreditable to Democracy than in its treatment of monetary questions. On the tariff question it had some sort of courage, if only the courage of a rat driven into a corner. It had some sort of frankness, if only that of one who has no sense. But on the money question it has been false and treacherous to everybody, even to itself. Democrats had elected Representatives pledged to



free and unlimited coinage of silver by the United States alone, and accustomed to clamor frantically for it, when they had no power. Yet these identical Representatives numbering more than two-thirds of the House, when assembled in Congress at Washington, passed no silver bill whatever because there was an election coming, and its passage might cost some votes. Loud for silver coinage when it had no chance, they deliberately chose to try the trickster's game once more in New England and New York by pretending in that latitude unalterable hostility to free coinage.

#### UNTRUE TO ITS OWN FALSEHOODS.

It is this same party which voted for fiat money and payment of bonds in greenbacks, and then nominated Mr. Tilden. For Eastern votes it has now nominated Mr. Cleveland, a gold monometallist; in silver States it pretends that he will bow to the will of his party, as if it had any will except to get office; in Alliance States it shouts for paper issues of \$50 per head, or 1,500 millions, against land mortgages, and to catch the men who want money that has no value at all it recommends a revival of its wild-cat banks. Not true in anything, it has played the trickster on the money question until it can no longer be true to its own falsehoods.

#### THE REPUBLICAN PARTY TRUE TO ITSELF.

On the money question in all its phases the Republican party has preserved throughout the grand reputation earned by success in sustaining armies through a civil war, by specie resumption, by the safest banking system ever devised, and by such a reduction of public debt as no other nation has ever achieved. Again and again it has staked all its future upon a manly refusal to permit the money of the people to be debased. Every financial measure proposed it meets at once with the question, "Will it make and keep every dollar as good as every other dollar?"

#### A PARTY TRUE TO THE PEOPLE.

It has met defeat more than once, because it has not hesitated to refuse a step which, in its conscientious belief, might impair the soundness of the money received by the laborer for his toil and by the farmer for his grain. It has never hesitated to tell gold monometallists that it sincerely believes in bimetallism, and intends to do what it can to restore silver to monetary use throughout the world. It does not hesitate to tell advocates of free coinage by the United States alone that danger lies that way, and that a surer, shorter and safer road is through agreement of nations. It will not be the tool of gold monometallists or of silver monometallists, but believes in a genuine bimetallism—in the largest monetary use of silver that can be attained, keeping every dollar issued by the nation, whether paper, silver or gold, equal in purchasing power with every other dollar.

# PENSIONS AND VETERANS.

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## Contrasts that Show Clearly Where the Candidates and Parties Stand as to Soldiers' Rights.

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### BOTH DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES HIRED SUBSTITUTES.

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#### Cleveland's Pension Record.

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Senator Blackburn, in 1879, speaking as well of pension legislation as of other enactments, the result of Civil War, declared in the House of Representatives, of which he was then a member, "We"—meaning the Democratic party—"do not intend to stop until we have stricken the last vestige of your war measures from the statute books." In this remark he anticipated the policy Grover Cleveland pursued while President of the United States. With a Republican Senate to contend with, Mr. Cleveland was not in a position to strike very much pension legislation from the statute books, but what he could do, and what he did do, was to prevent more getting on. Mr. Cleveland was not a soldier in the late Civil War. He served his countrymen by the vicarious sacrifice of a hired substitute. And it was, perhaps, a thus disinterested point of view that led him to declare in vetoing the Dependent Pension bill, which a Republican Congress and a Republican President afterwards put into law, that "it is sad, but nevertheless true, that in the matter of procuring pensions there exists a widespread disregard of truth and good faith, and there can be no doubt that the race after the pensions offered by this bill would not only stimulate weakness and pretended incapacity for labor, but put a further premium on dishonesty and mendacity." Mr. Cleveland was not in the race after pensions. His "weakness and pretended incapacity" had occurred thirty years earlier.

Once every four years the Democrats in certain parts of the country, but by no means in all, are wont to tell the veterans of the Union Army what their party has done in aid of pension legislation. They make no mention of the fact that the pension legislation from 1862 to 1875, which is the basis of our present system, was passed by Congresses Republican in both branches and signed by a Republican President. They say nothing of the fact that, during their furtive control of one branch of government or another since 1875, only one or two important pension bills were allowed to become laws, and then only after the virulent and persistent opposition of the great majority of their members. Nor do they speak of the malicious record made by their late President and their present candidate, who vetoed more than 500 pension measures sent to him through the persistency of Repub-

licans in Congress, couching his vetoes in language of deliberate insult to the soldiers and to the legislators who by such measures had endeavored to express the country's gratitude to those whose lives had been offered in its service.

#### CLEVELAND'S INSULTING VETO MESSAGES.

Mr. Cleveland sneeringly accused Republican Congresses of having adopted the theory "that no man who served in the army can be the subject of death or impaired health except they are chargeable to his service." In vetoing a bill passed for the relief of John W. Ferris in June, 1886, he relieved himself of this beautiful sentiment and delicate humor: "The ingenuity developed in the constant and persistent attacks upon the public treasury by those claiming pensions, and in the increase of those already granted, is exhibited in bold relief by this attempt to include sore eyes among the results of diarrhoea."

In vetoing the bill for the relief of Alfred Denny, who swore that he was injured by being thrown forward on the pommel of his saddle, Mr. Cleveland thought it becoming to remark: "The number of instances in which those of our soldiers who rode horses during the War were injured by being thrown forward on their saddle indicates that those saddles were very dangerous contrivances." It might be supposed that it would have satisfied Mr. Cleveland's animosities against the body of veteran patriots, whose ranks he had refused to join thirty years before, when he had used his veto power to deny them the relief Congress had deemed it proper to give them; but it seemed almost impossible for him to veto a pension bill without becoming funny at the expense of the soldiers. Is it unreasonable to attribute this propensity to a desire on his part to defend his own record of cowardice, or something worse, by attacking the record of those who had done and dared while he had stopped at home? In the affidavit of Andrew I. Wilson there had occurred a long recital of injuries received in the service. "Whatever else," said Mr. Cleveland, in vetoing the bill for Mr. Wilson's relief—"whatever else may be said of this claimant's achievements during his short military career, it must be conceded that he accumulated a great deal of disability." It was certainly from the point of view of a man who had not thought the flag worth his defending that Mr. Cleveland proceeded to the consideration of pension bills. His patriotism was of the kind which was willing enough to accept the highest honors and the greatest emoluments in the gift of his fellow-citizens, but which hung back when they asked him to go forward to do battle, to suffer hardship and to confront danger for the salvation of the Union!



## PENSIONS AND PARTIES.

The following comparison in parallel columns will show the extent and nature of pension legislation since the War, enacted by the Republican party on the one hand, and by the Democratic party on the other:

### *Republican Legislation.*

First general Act of 1862 provided the most ample and generous system of pensions that had up to that time been enacted into law—provided for disabled soldiers, widows, children, mothers and sisters.

Act of July 4, 1864, extended limitation of arrears to three years, fixed pensions for loss of both feet at twenty dollars and both hands or eyes twenty-five per month.

Act of June 6, 1866, increased pension for loss of both hands or feet, or one hand or foot, also granted pensions to dependent fathers and mothers.

Act of July 25, 1868, granted additional pensions to widows with children under sixteen years of age, and gave full pension to orphan children.

Act of July 8, 1870, inaugurated new system of paying, and protected pensioners from designing agents.

Act of February 14, 1871, provided pensions for soldiers of the War of 1812 and their widows.

Act of March 4, 1890, increased pensions of totally helpless to seventy-five dollars per month.

Act of June 27, 1890, pensions all having existing disability, without proof that it was contracted in the service; also pensions the widows of all such and all soldiers' widows dependent on their labor.

### *Democratic Legislation.*

Act of March 3, 1877, grants pensions to certain disabled soldiers, although they had engaged in rebellion against the United States.

Act of March 9, 1878, restores to the pension rolls the names of participants in the War of 1812 and Indian wars who had participated in the Rebellion.

Act of June 7, 1878, limits fees of pension agents to ten dollars.

Act of June 27, 1878, adds twenty-two dollars per month to the pensions of about two hundred persons.

Arrears of Pensions Act, introduced by a Republican, passed by Republican votes and signed by a Republican President.

Act of 1879 repealed the Arrears of Pensions Act.

Mexican War Pension bill; benefited mostly Southern men.

Dependent Pension bill; vetoed by President Cleveland.

### HOW THE VARIOUS PENSION ACTS WERE PASSED.

This statement shows that the Republican Party has been the author of practically all the important legislation in behalf of the Union veteran. The legislation to be ascribed to Democratic Congresses has been almost wholly in aid of Mexican veterans, whether afterwards engaged in rebellion or not. This showing, however, is not complete. Before the record of the two parties can be fully understood it is necessary to see how the members of them who were in Congress when these several bills were passed actually voted. The opposition to pensions first developed in a strongly marked way in the vote on the Arrears Bill in 1879, when the Democrats had control of both branches of Congress. The law of 1862 had given soldiers arrears of pensions back to date of injury, provided they applied within one year of its incurrence. Later this was amended so that they might apply within three years. In 1868 the time was extended five years



longer, and in 1874 a further extension of five years was given. All these acts had been passed by Republican Congresses. In 1878 Mr. Cummings, a Republican, introduced a bill repealing all limitations, but the Democratic Committee in charge of it refused to report it. Mr. Haskell, a Republican, moved to discharge the committee and pass the bill. On this proposition the votes stood :

Democrats for the bill.....	48
Democrats against the bill.....	61
Republicans for the bill.....	116
Republicans against the bill.....	None

Thus the bill passed by Republican votes. Had the Democrats alone voted upon it, it would have been overwhelmingly defeated.

The next great pension measure voted on was the bill increasing the pensions of widows from eight dollars to twelve dollars per month.

The vote upon this bill was as follows :

Democrats for the bill.....	80
Democrats against the bill.....	66
Republicans for the bill.....	118
Republicans against the bill.....	None.

This vote was upon a proposition to suspend the rules and pass the bill. A motion of that kind requires a two-thirds vote to carry it. It thus appears that on this proposition the bill would have been defeated had the Democrats alone voted upon it, for less than two-thirds of them supported it.

In the Forty-ninth Congress the Senate voted upon a bill to pension disabled dependent soldiers. On this the vote stood as follows :

Democrats for the bill.....	7
Democrats against the bill.....	14
Republicans for the bill.....	27
Republicans against the bill.....	None.

#### THE DEPENDENT PENSION BILL.

In the same Congress a dependent pension bill was voted upon in the House. The vote upon this was as follows :

Democrats for the bill.....	66
Democrats against the bill.....	76
Republicans for the bill.....	114
Republicans against the bill.....	None.

This bill was vetoed by President Cleveland. It was in this remarkable veto that he made use of the language : "The soldiers of our civil war, in their pay and bounty, received such compensation for military services as has never been received by soldiers before since mankind went to war. \* \* \* The really needy and homeless soldiers of the rebellion have been, to a large extent, provided for at soldiers' homes. \* \* \* It is sad, but nevertheless true, that in the matter of procuring pensions there exists a wide-

spread disregard of truth and good faith; \* \* \* and there can be no doubt that the race, after the pensions offered by this bill, would not only stimulate weakness and pretended incapacity for labor, but put a further premium on dishonesty and mendacity." The theory on which these ugly lines were written, that the American citizens who answered Abraham Lincoln's trumpet call to duty—who left wife and sweetheart, helpless youth and far more helpless age to confront blazing cannon, to endure disease and starvation in Rebel prisons—did it all "for compensation," and that they are well enough off when lodged by charity in a Soldiers' Home, is a theory truly natural to a man who was content to answer the draft with a hired substitute, and then to leave his substitute to die in age and want in a county poorhouse!

#### FIGURES MORE ELOQUENT THAN WORDS.

The House of Representatives attempted to pass the Department Pension bill over Mr. Cleveland's veto, but as it required a two-thirds vote the motion did not carry. On this vote the result was as follows:

Democrats for the bill.....	37
Democrats against the bill.....	125
Republicans for the bill.....	138
Republicans against the bill.....	None.

The most important pension legislation enacted since the Republicans lost control of Congress in 1874 was the Dependent Pension bill, which was passed by the Republicans when they again had control of Congress of two years ago. This bill first came up in the Senate in March, 1890, and passed by the following vote:

Democrats for the bill.....	10
Democrats against the bill.....	12
Republicans for the bill.....	32
Republicans against the bill.....	None.

When this bill reached the House, it was taken up on a motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill, but failed for want of a two-thirds vote, the Democrats opposing it in a body. A few days later it was called up again and passed by the following vote:

Democrats for the bill.....	38
Democrats against the bill.....	71
Republicans for the bill.....	141
Republicans against the bill.....	None.

The next pension measure of importance was the bill pensioning prisoners of war, and allowing them a per diem of two dollars for every day that they were held as prisoners of war. On this bill, which was taken up under a motion to suspend the rules, the vote stood:

Democrats for the bill.....	24
Democrats against the bill.....	78
Republicans for the bill.....	119
Republicans against the bill.....	None.

And so it would be possible to go on indefinitely with these official records showing the attitude of the two parties on the pension question. A tabulation of the votes cast on the important pension bills since the beginning of the Forty-sixth Congress, omitting some of the less important motions voted upon, gives the following totals as shown by fourteen votes on various pension bills :

Democrats for the bills.....	501
Democrats against the bills.....	902
Republicans for the bills.....	1,291
Republicans against the bills.....	2

General Cutcheon, of Michigan, the gallant and distinguished Union officer and friend of the soldier, commenting upon these remarkable facts and figures in the House of Representatives, said : " Mr. Speaker, I do not think that any poor words of mine can add anything to the force of these figures. They are the mute, dumb mouths that speak louder and more eloquently than could any human voice."

When to these remarkable figures is added the fact that President Cleveland refused his approval to more than five hundred individual pension bills, one can but think that Senator Blackburn spoke by the card when he said : " We do not intend to stop until we have stricken the last vestige of your war measures from the statute books !"

#### A COWARD, OR WORSE.

To-day out of every \$5 collected for the expenses of Government two go to the support of veterans of the Army and Navy that served in suppressing the rebellion, and practically every dollar of this enormous pension fund was appropriated under acts passed by the Republican Party and opposed by the Democratic Party. The candidate of the Republican Party to-day is a man who organized a regiment from among his fellow-citizens and led it bravely into battle ; a man whose military service won him the praise of Sheridan and Grant. He faced the cannon's mouth with calm and intrepid courage. In conflict he moved where the fight was hottest ; he asked no man to go where he did not lead himself ; he fared as his soldiers fared ; he shared their afflictions and their sacrifices as now he shares their undying glory. The candidate of the Democratic party when the War broke out was a bachelor. No claim of family or duty existed to be placed paramount to the claim of his country. He did not volunteer ; he did not ask his friends and neighbors to go with him to the front. He did nothing until he was drafted, and then he paid \$200 to another man and sent him off in his stead. The war record of Grover Cleveland is the record of a man who confessed himself a coward or a sympathizer with the effort to break the Union into fragments. In either view of his case, and without considering the record he made as President in overruling the action of Congress with regard to pensions, is it possible that he can receive the support of any American soldier ?



## STEVENSON'S COPPERHEAD RECORD.

Equally glaring is the contrast between the candidates for the Vice Presidency. The Republican candidate voted for John C. Fremont in 1856. As the boy editor of one of the first Republican newspapers in Ohio, he was actually the first writer in that State to advocate the nomination of Lincoln in 1860. As the correspondent of a great Republican journal, he was present in a score of battles, where he both fought and wrote for the honor and advantage of his country. He is opposed to-day by a man who, at that time, was a member of the Knights of the Golden Circle, a secret society of traitors—a man who spent his time haranguing his fellow-citizens in the effort to induce them to refuse to defend the nation, and in denouncing Abraham Lincoln and the boys in blue—the one as a tyrant, and the others as that tyrant's hirelings. Mr. Stevenson now makes a feeble and very painful effort to deny his record. But it is fastened on him by the testimony of hundreds who were then his neighbors and the victims of his anonymous circulars threatening them with death if they dared to speak or write, or act in defense of the flag.

These men are now running on a platform which pretends fair things for the veterans. But if they are elected it will be by the votes of those eleven States which then constituted the so-called Confederacy, as until now they have constituted the Solid South. Not in that part of the country at least, which is where their votes must come from, are they making a soldiers' canvass. The kind of speeches which are arousing their supporters to shouts of enthusiasm and exultation is well illustrated by the speech delivered on Monday, August 22d, 1892, in the City of Fredericksburg, Virginia, by E. E. Meredith, Congressman from the Eighth District of that State, and now a candidate for re-election, and quoted as follows in the "Fredericksburg Free Lance," a Democratic journal of that city:

### SOUTHERN ATTACKS ON PENSIONERS.

"Three out of every four persons who now receive pensions are not entitled to them, and the time will come, if the Republicans retain power, when they will place upon the pension list every man or woman who even nursed a Union soldier. **There are now on the pension rolls, and receiving pay, twenty-five thousand women, most of whom are without character.**"

This reference to the wives and mothers of Union soldiers is a characteristic and common occurrence in the Democratic oratory and newspaper writing of the South.

As a further illustration of the kind of newspaper articles which Southern Democratic editors are offering to their readers as arguments why Grover Cleveland should be elected President, it is worth while to quote the following article as it appeared in full on August 17th, 1892, in the "Globe," a leading Democratic newspaper published in Durham, N. C. :

"Some of the Northern papers are howling about the positive fact that Grover Cleveland hired a cheap man to



represent him when the North pillaged and plundered and burned and ravished the South. **There could not be a better recommendation.** The scamps at the North who went into the War went in for fourteen dollars a month, with an explicit understanding that they should and could steal all that was in sight. Grover Cleveland knew that the country would need his services in 1884 and again in 1892, and he did not propose to have his body filled with Northern lead in order to give a Yankee the chance to pick his pocket after he had been killed. **He simply did a good business job, as he did when he slapped the dirty beggars called pensioners in the face.** Why should he, a statesman and a man of his intellect, take the chance of war when he could hire a cheap fellow to represent him?"

The "Globe" regards that as one of the best things Cleveland ever did. When the North had money; had credit and had the sympathy of the world, **Cleveland was for the South**, which was impoverished. He figured it out that he could hire a cheaper man than he was. All the North wanted was to call men out and have them shot. Grant, at Shiloh, killed more men than the slaughter houses of North Carolina have killed cattle in a month. What did he care and what did the North care? Nothing. They employed speakers to get recruits, and paid them wonderful salaries. Men who talked for recruits got a big salary, and the poor devil whom they influenced got fourteen dollars a month and a grave without a mark—got the bill of fare which brought disease and killed 'em.

Cleveland, who was loyal to his country, saw that he had better have a servant, so that he could do business for his country when it wanted brains and ability instead of brute force.

**If Cleveland had fought he would have been lowered in the estimation of the South.** He did not propose to use his skill in killing the boys of the Southland. So he paid a lazy fellow, out of a job, three hundred dollars to represent him on the field. He knew the fellow could not kill any one, and in that way he was a benefactor.

The Solid South owes a debt of gratitude to Grover Cleveland.

Do the veteran soldiers and sailors of the United States desire that men with the records of Grover Cleveland and Adlai Stevenson, supported by those who, in Senator Blackburn's language, would strike from the statute books every vestige of our pension legislation, shall assume the highest offices in this country? Will it be representative of the sentiment of any Union veteran that they are lifted into place and power? Do men of gallantry and patriotism prefer such as they to those who shared a soldier's hardships and a soldier's sense of duty? Do Union veterans wish another four years' pension vetoes, and of jibes, and sneers, and thrusts at those who, in patriotic anguish and patriotic ardor, sacrificed everything they held dear and sacred—sacrificed wife, child, home, mother—sacrificed fortune—sacrificed life—for the safety and the honor of the country and flag!

# THE FLAG ON THE HIGH SEAS.

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## Republican Legislation Has Assured the Restoration of the Merchant Marine.

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## DEMOCRATIC ATTEMPTS TO UNDO THE GOOD WORK.

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### Two Hundred Millions May Be Saved.

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The decline of American shipping on the high seas is a fact generally recognized and deplored. Men differ respecting causes and remedies, but they agree in regarding the dependence of the nation upon foreign flags for the movement of its ocean traffic as alike discreditable and dangerous. The question has its economic side. The exports and imports amounted during the last fiscal year to \$1,857,679,603; over \$200,000,000 was paid to foreign shipowners in freight charges; and the country would have been richer, not poorer, if a large share of the cost of transportation had been received by American shipowners.

Then, too, the question has its patriotic side. A great maritime nation needs a commercial marine quite as much as it needs a navy. Dependence upon foreign flags must always be a source of humiliation and reproach. Wherever the responsibility for the decline of the shipping interests lies, and whatever may be the best measures for restoring the commercial marine, poor in spirit must be the American who does not long to see the flag again on the high seas!

### WHY HAS AMERICAN SHIPPING DECLINED ?

A Democrat will say, "Because it has been protected to death." If that be true, it is an extraordinary exception, for every other protected industry is alive and flourishing. "But it is not true," a Republican will reply. "The commercial marine has declined not in consequence of Protection, but from lack of it. It is the only great industrial interest which has been systematically neglected and allowed to languish from sheer inanition." Who is right, the Democrat or the Republican? The history of American shipping will tell.

Among the first acts of the first American Congress was one for the creation and protection of a commercial marine by means of discriminating impost and tonnage dues. The founders of the Republic regarded ships and shipyards as hardly less important than a Federal Constitution. They enacted navigation laws for the protection of both interests. The discrimination carried American shipowners into the carrying trade, and the Registry law secured the shipbuilder against foreign competition. Pro-

tective legislation had the desired effect. The tonnage rose from 124,000 in 1789 to 529,500 in 1795. In 1810 it had reached nearly 1,000,000 tons, and 93 per cent. of the imports and 90 per cent. of the exports were carried in American bottoms. Shipyards were multiplied all along the Atlantic seaboard. American sails began to whiten every sea. That was genuine Protection of shipping interests, and it created a maritime nation with a navy as well as a commercial marine.

### THE NEGLECT OF SHIPPING BEGINS.

From 1815 to 1849 the discriminating duties and tonnage dues in favor of American shipping were gradually removed by the enactment of free freighting laws and the negotiation of conventions with England and other powers based upon the principle of equality of flags. England was granted full reciprocity in our foreign trade, first, as to European traffic in 1815; secondly, as to colonial commerce in 1830, and, finally, as to the shipment of cargoes from all ports of the world in 1849. The advocates of these repeal measures justified them by asserting that navigation should be as free as air; that all shackles on commerce should be stricken off, and that everything should be left to unrestricted competition. They boasted of it as a free-trade movement, and so it was. It deprived American shipowners of the Protection under which they had prospered. From 1849, when the free-freighting policy was consummated, the percentage of foreign trade in American bottoms has steadily declined. From 1849 to 1853 foreign vessels enlarged their business 177 per cent., and American vessels only 59 per cent.

### RESULTS OF UNRESTRICTED COMPETITION.

During those four years British arrivals of tonnage in our ports increased 70 per cent. That was the beginning of the aggressive policy against American shipping by which British supremacy was to be established. Since 1849 the American shipowner in foreign trade has been without direct Protection. There has been unrestricted competition in ocean freighting, and the foreign shipowner has profited by it at the expense of the American shipowner. In 1810 about 90 per cent. of the exports were carried in American bottoms; in 1849 the percentage had fallen to 69, and the shrinkage has continued until to-day only 9 per cent. are under the flag. This decline has gone on under any and every kind of tariff. The greatest shrinkage in the American share of the carrying trade in any period of peace was during the five years preceding the Civil War. That was when the Democratic ideal of statesmanship, a low revenue tariff, was in force. The shrinkage was 15 per cent. under the precise conditions which the Democratic party is now seeking to reproduce. From 1861 to 1866 the decline was 33 per cent., or only twice as great, although English-built privateers were scuttling ships and ruinous rates of insurance were driving the American flag from the seas. As the American share of the carrying trade declined under a low tariff, so it has continued to shrink, although less rapidly, under a high tariff, until



to-day only 12 per cent. of our foreign transportation is in American bottoms.

#### STRANGLED BY FREE FREIGHTING.

Whether there has been a low tariff or a high tariff, American shipping has not been in any sense a protected industry under these conditions of free freighting. It has been exposed to merciless competition from cheap-labor countries which were doing everything in their power to build up their merchant fleets while Americans were systematically neglecting their shipping interests. To-day there is a high tariff under which the money invested and the labor employed in an American factory is protected; but there is nothing in the system that protects the money invested or the labor employed in an American ship in the foreign trade. American shipping protected to death! Why, it is almost the only great industry of the country which has not been protected. It has been strangled by free-trade freighting. So long as the American carrying trade was protected it flourished; but as soon as there was equality of flags, and foreign freighting was conducted under free-trade conditions, it languished and declined.

#### ILLUSTRATION AND PROOF.

There is a very simple way of proving that the Republican is right, and the Democrat wrong, in this matter: There are two divisions of our commercial marine, one in the foreign trade, and the other in coasting, lake and river trade. Both divisions were protected by the navigation laws enacted by the founders of the Republic. Protection was withdrawn from American ships in foreign trade, and the free carriage of freight on the high seas has been well nigh monopolized by European shipowners. But the laws excluding foreign ships from the coasting and lake and river trade were not repealed. That division of the commercial marine has been protected to this day, and it has steadily prospered and provided employment for American shipyards. The coastwise trade had a registered tonnage of 2,704,544 in 1861; in 1890 it had risen to 3,409,435. On the great lakes a magnificent fleet of even greater tonnage has been built, and the cost of freight transportation has been heavily reduced. **The American tonnage passing through the "Soo" Canal exceeds that registered for all flags in the Suez Canal.** Great shipyards have been established in lake ports. The American lake and river marine and the coasting service is the best built and the largest in any internal waters in the world. It has prospered under low and under high tariffs. And why? **Because it has never ceased to have the protection of American law.** Its prosperity under Protection when contrasted with the decline of the commercial marine in foreign trade without Protection proves the whole case.

#### PLENTY OF FREIGHTS TO CARRY.

The Democrat will say that the coasting and river and lake fleets have flourished because there are no restrictions



on trade between the States of the Union ; and that the commercial marine on the high seas has declined in prosperity because a "Chinese Wall" has been built around the seaboard in a high tariff. That cannot be true. The American carrying trade on the ocean suffered most heavily under the low tariff enacted a few years before the Civil War. That decline of fifteen per cent. between 1857 and 1861 shows that the Democracy cannot hope to restore American shipping to the high seas by means of a low tariff. **Then, how absurd it is to talk of a prohibitory "Chinese Wall" when the exports and imports amount to \$1,857,679,-603 !**

There is trade enough to employ an enormous foreign tonnage. If, in 1890, our tonnage in foreign trade was 928,000, whereas in 1810 it was 1,000,000, and if we were carrying twelve per cent. of the freight instead of ninety per cent., it was not because commerce had declined, nor because we were willing to sell our products, but refused to buy in exchange. The following table shows at a glance that the percentage of free to dutiable goods has steadily increased under a protective tariff.

Average Years.	Free Goods.	Dutiable Goods.
From 1847 to 1857.....	12	88
" 1857 to 1861..... ..	22	78
McKinley Tariff, 1892 ....	55.4	44.6

#### PROTECTION HAS SAVED WHAT THERE IS.

There is trade enough, and the restrictions on buying have steadily diminished. The trouble does not lie in the tariff. Foreign shipowners have a magnificent volume of business in our foreign trade. Our shipowners have a beggarly share in it. The trade is there, but foreigners have crowded us out of it and live and prosper at our expense. We do not have the ships and we are not in the trade because Protection has been withdrawn from American shipping interests for forty years. The coasting and river and lake fleets have prospered because they have been protected by law. If that trade had been opened to foreign competition, Americans would have lost the greater part of it. The lake fleet would have been under the British flag. Foreign tramps would have been picking up freight along our seaboard, and we would have had an inferior coasting fleet in place of the finest one in the world. The shipbuilding industry would have been utterly destroyed.

So much for causes; what about remedies? The Democratic party has its shipping policy. The Republican party has another and very different policy for restoring the flag to the seas. Each line of action is characteristic of the party which proposes it. One policy begins and ends with the repeal of an antiquated statute. The other is grounded upon the practical experience of maritime Europe during the last fifty years.

#### THE DEMOCRATIC PLAN IS TO DO NOTHING.

Since the disappearance of the flag from the high seas is a calamity and a disgrace affecting the interests and the reputation of the American people, its restoration to its

rightful place is a question of high national policy. The attitude of the Democratic party toward it is characteristic. Always a party of obstruction, hostile to new ideas, and, on general principles, opposed to legislation of creative tendencies, **it exhausts its energies in attempting to undo what has already been done.** With navigation bounties or liberal payments for the ocean mails or the creation of an auxiliary navy, it will have nothing to do. These are constructive policies which it abhors. It looks upon the Protective Tariff as the sum of all evils. Its leaders profess to believe that when that is removed, root and branch, all things will be fulfilled—the revival of American shipping among the rest; but, being mindful of the unmistakable decline of American water carriage under the last low tariff, they do not stop with that. They point to the antiquated statute limiting American registry to American-built ships, and demand its repeal as the one thing needed for the restoration of the flag to the seas. **All the Democratic leaders are committed to this policy of free ships.** They have made it the pretext for systematic opposition to shipping bills. Their full party strength, with a few notable exceptions, was thrown against the Bounty and Ocean Mail Service bills in the last Republican Congress. When they obtained control of the present House they brought forward their alternative plan of providing the country with a foreign-built merchant marine. The Fithian bill, which was reported by the Democratic majority of the House Committee on Commercial Marine and Fisheries, was a measure for enabling Americans to purchase foreign-built vessels and to run up the flag over them. It was not passed, but was hung up for discussion during the next session.

#### AMERICANS IN THE OLD DAYS.

The navigation law, relating to American registry, was not enacted for the protection of shipowners, but of shipbuilders. **The patriotic legislators of the Independence era insisted upon having a merchant marine that was American from stem to stern.** They were not willing to have a merchant buy a foreign ship, obtain a national registry for it, and then enjoy the privileges of discriminating impost and tonnage dues. They protected the shipbuilder by limiting the conditions of registry. So clearly was this understood that, when flags were equalized between 1815 and 1849, the registry statute was not repealed, but was allowed to remain for the protection of the shipyards. What the Democracy now aims to do is to remove that safeguard. It is a characteristic policy. The Democracy aspires to restore the flag to the ocean by striking down the shipbuilders on land—to create one industry by destroying another. It has even a more malignant purpose. The merchant marine in foreign trade was paralyzed by the withdrawal of Protection forty years ago. The merchant marine in inland waters and in the coasting trade remained American-built and American-manned, and prospered. **The policy of free ships involves inevitably the employment of foreign-built vessels in internal trade.** If they are bought for foreign

service and are allowed American register, they will drift into the coastwise and lake trade. The shipbuilding interests of the seaboard and the lakes will be irretrievably ruined. An American-built marine will disappear from the face of the earth.

#### FIRST COST NOT THE MAIN QUESTION.

If American registry for foreign-built ships offered an absolute guaranty of the creation of a merchant fleet for foreign trade, these terrible risks of the destruction of two established industries and a magnificent marine for domestic trade might be regarded with some degree of hardihood, but it is not. The Democratic leaders in the Fithian bill are groping in the dark and grasping at a flickering shadow. They assume that the difference in the first cost of an American-built and a foreign-built ship is so great that competition is impracticable. Whatever that difference may have been when British shipyards were first supplied with expensive plant and had the advantage of skilled labor, it is now inconsiderable. **The building of a new navy has equipped American yards with all the requisite machinery.** Skilled mechanics are now employed; the iron and steel industries have been marvelously developed, and, if the labor be better paid here, the ship, when built, is a better ship and will have a longer life. The difference in cost is insignificant in comparison with the difference in operating expenses in service.

That is one of the chief reasons for the decline of American shipping under pressure of foreign competition. The advocates of free ships take no account of it. They assume that every difficulty will be overcome and competition rendered practicable if foreign ships can be purchased. They forget that American wages will have to be paid to officers and crews, and that these will largely exceed the wages on competing European ships. The American register will involve better food and a higher cost of maintenance than on foreign ships. It is in these respects that an American vessel owner has always required as much protection as the American factory owner, and he has not received it, but been left to struggle helplessly against foreign rivals with cheaper labor and Government subsidies behind them. Free ships, even if they cost a little less, will be operated as dearly as American-built ships, and they will not last as long. The conditions for successful competition will be as unfavorable as they are now.

#### FREE SHIPS AN ENGLISH POLICY.

The Democratic policy of free ships is English in a double sense. Great Britain set the example of offering registry to foreign ships in 1850, but not until she had obtained a marked supremacy in shipbuilding and believed that it was safe to do so. England also encourages American free traders to persevere in their demand for free ships. That is natural. She is anxious to build and sell ships to Americans, and strongly covets the privileges of our coasting trade and a large share of our lake trade for Canada. Her advice is not strictly benevolent respecting free ships, and **Americans ought to be warned**



**rather than influenced by it.** The Democratic policy is English, but it is not American. The legislators of the Revolutionary era were wise as well as patriotic when they protected alike the shipowning and the shipbuilding interests. Each of those interests is bound up in the other. Neither can thrive without the other. The free ship movement would ruin the shipbuilder, and not restore the flag to the ocean. It would menace the magnificent coasting and lake marine with ruin. It would overwhelm the nation with reproach and dishonor.

#### REPUBLICAN POLICIES BUSINESSLIKE AND EFFECTIVE.

The Republican policy does not begin with the abrogation of time-honored safeguards for the protection of American shipbuilding and internal and coastwise commerce. Since it is no longer practicable to protect the merchant fleet on the ocean by discriminating impost and tonnage dues, it substitutes for them methods which have received the sanction of maritime Europe. It aims to restore the flag to the seas by liberal payments for the transportation of foreign mails, by the creation of an auxiliary navy of high speed and by navigation bounties, if need be. An appropriation of \$800,000 for ocean mail service marked the beginning of this policy. A Democratic Postmaster-General found this law among the statutes of Republican legislation, and he refused to execute it, thereby defrauding American steamship lines out of what lawfully belonged to them. The Republican Senate in 1890 passed a Navigation Bounty and an Ocean Mail Service Act over the votes of all the Democratic members with a single exception. Both measures met with determined opposition from the Democratic minority in the House during the following year. The Bounty bill was defeated by a close vote, but the Ocean Mail bill was enacted with 136 Republicans and 3 Democrats voting for it, and 115 Democrats and 5 Republicans against it. This measure would have resulted in immense benefit to the commercial marine if the subventions to ships had not been reduced in the House one-third.

#### SIGNS OF A FOREIGN MARINE AT LAST.

Although the efficiency of the act was greatly impaired by this horizontal cut in the postal subsidies, it has not been without its effect. As many as five new lines of American ships are to be established in Southern trade. As many as twenty-six new steamships with an aggregate tonnage of 150,000 will be added to the American merchant fleet. **While these results are to be credited jointly to the Reciprocity policy and to the Ocean Mail bill, the approaching transfer of the Inman Line with the two fastest ships afloat to the American flag is to be attributed to the influence of the shipping legislation of the last Republican Congress.**

American registry has been properly granted to these two ships since the necessities of naval policy, as illustrated during the Chilian complications, required the immediate creation of an auxiliary fleet of high speed. But this departure from the registry practice, while made



under exceptional circumstances, has not been at the expense of American shipbuilders. **Two new ships of the same tonnage will be built in American shipyards,** and a trans-Atlantic liner of the first class will be under the American flag. All these vessels, as well as the new ships building for the Southern trade, will be available for the purposes of a naval reserve. A beginning at least has been made toward the revival of American shipping interests, and President Harrison is to be credited with leadership in the movement. **In his messages and in many of his public addresses East, West and South, he has advocated the restoration of the flag to the ocean by the payment of bounties, subsidies and a liberal mail service.** With the single exception of Senator Frye, he has done more than any other American statesman to arouse public interest in this great national question.

#### THE LESSONS OF EXPERIENCE.

The Republican shipping policy is American since it aims to restore the maritime supremacy of the nation. But it has received the sanction of all the European Powers of the first rank. England's commercial supremacy was established by steamship subsidies and liberal payments for mail service. That policy was adopted in 1835, and involved the organization and maintenance of great steam lines on all the chief routes of ocean traffic now followed. **It has cost England \$250,000,000 in mail subventions of various kinds,** and it is worth all that has been paid, for maritime energy has been accompanied by a tremendous expansion of trade. Germany has pursued the same course during recent years and has enlarged her commercial empire. France and Italy have been paying bounties and subsidies for the last decade both to shipowners and shipbuilders. Spain grants an annual subsidy of \$1,242,800 to a line which preys upon the business of American steamships in the West Indies, Mexico and Venezuela. Even Chili has a powerful national line under a subvention from the Government—an available naval reserve in time of war. Alone among nations the United States has persisted in neglecting its shipping interests while its European rivals have been competing with unexampled vigor for maritime supremacy.

#### A BARREN POLICY.

A strange spectacle it has been—the richest and most prosperous nation on earth saving its pennies in ocean mail contracts and flinging away its millions in ocean freightage to aliens! In one of President Cleveland's years the amount paid to American vessels for mail carriage was \$43,319. Even in 1889 the American lines received only \$109,828—barely more than a quarter of the receipts of foreign lines from the American Government for the same service. This barren policy has been in force when the actual cost of the ocean mail service has been 25 per cent. of the revenues derived from foreign postage.

The richest country on earth, while making money on

foreign postage, has been too poor to do anything for its shipping! It has been content to have its mails carried by foreigners at the lowest cost! But, meanwhile, free-trade England has never relaxed its policy of aiding its commercial marine. In 1889, when the United States was doling out \$109,828 to American lines, England paid \$3,184,425 for its foreign mail service; and there was never a free-trade outcry against subsidies! That was a goodly sum, but it was barely one-half of what was paid when its fleet was to be built up at the expense of American shipping interests which had been paralyzed by the withdrawal of Protection, harassed by hostile discriminations from the British Lloyds, embarrassed by the substitution of iron for wood in shipbuilding, and finally shattered and destroyed by underwriters' risks and piratical raids in war time.

#### A NEW ERA OF RESTORATION.

From 1835 England has never swerved from the policy of aiding its commercial marine by generous payments for mail service. That has been its method of protecting and developing its merchant fleet under free-trade conditions of freighting. Americans made a spasmodic attempt in President Pierce's time to imitate the policy by payments for mail service, amounting in one year to \$2,000,000—a Democratic tradition which free traders have put out of mind; but during recent years compensation for mail carriage has hardly sufficed to keep a steamer's engines thoroughly oiled.

Under these conditions the cause for wonder is not that American shipping has reached its present stage of decadence, but that there is anything left that can be recognized as a remnant of its former glory and prosperity. Republican policy points to a new era of restoration. The building of the new navy, the development of the iron and steel industry, the negotiation of the Reciprocity treaties, the marvelous expansion of the nation's foreign commerce, and the great markets opened abroad for American farm products and manufactures, offer an opportunity for the creation of a new and powerful merchant marine. The American flag has not been furled on the ocean. The Republican party has run it up to the mast-head and will keep it there.

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#### Pay Tribute First to Ourselves.

*(Malone, August 26, 1892.)*

And I take great delight in the contemplation of the fact, which I believe is now assured, that, before another year has rolled around, one of the swiftest and best of all the great lines of steamships that go out of the port of New York will bear the American flag at the fore, and the tribute we have paid to foreign nations in the way of freight charges I believe will speedily, in a large measure, be abrogated forever. These great stores of agricultural products which we pour out from our granaries to feed the nations of Europe should, and I believe speedily will, be delivered at the Port of Liverpool in American bottoms.

—BENJAMIN HARRISON.

# THE INTER-OCEANIC CANAL POLICY.

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## The Republicans Have One and the Democrats Nothing But Sounding Phrases.

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### THE MONROE DOCTRINE AND THE NICARAGUA CANAL.

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#### Commercial and Military Reasons.

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##### THE FLAG OVER THE CANAL.

The Democratic party, when forced to break silence on any question of National interest, invariably strikes an attitude without committing itself unreservedly to the policy and all that is implied. Its official utterances respecting the Nicaragua Canal are characteristic. It is compelled, by the progressive tendencies of Republican policy and by the movement of enlightened public opinion, to say something about an enterprise which commands public sympathy on the Atlantic and Pacific seaboard, the Gulf Coast, and the Mississippi Valley. The Chicago Platform accordingly declares that "for purposes of National defence and the promotion of commerce between the States, we recognize the early construction of the Nicaragua Canal and its protection against foreign control as of great importance to the United States.

##### DEMOCRATIC VAPORING.

This is cartilage without bone. It is a vapid generalization to assume that the opening of an interoceanic waterway and its protection against foreign control are matters of importance. The Democratic party stops short of assuming the responsibility of declaring that the canal shall be under American control. That required grit, patriotism and lucidity of intelligence. The Democratic party is not conspicuous for any of these qualities.

##### TIMOROUS DEMOCRATIC DIPLOMACY.

In its reluctance to take an uncompromising stand on this question, the Democratic party was influenced by the traditions of its timorous canal diplomacy in an earlier generation. When the Nicaragua project was proposed, a crowning opportunity was offered of making an intelligible application of the Monroe doctrine. In the tangled skein of inexplicable diplomacy, beginning with the negotiation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, and dragging through the Pierce and Buchanan Administrations, the United States Government was duped and overreached. The Monroe doctrine was fatally compromised when Great Britain was admitted to an equal share in the protectorate of any canal which might be constructed across Central America. In return for this concession, which



ought never to have been made, a series of promises were secured which have never been fulfilled to this day. British claims to sovereignty over the coasts of Nicaragua and Honduras were nominally withdrawn. The conditions upon which the dual protectorate were grounded have been persistently violated both in Belize and in the Mosquito reservation.

#### PROTESTS MEAN NOTHING.

It is in the old-time spirit of vacillation and cowardice that the Democratic party returns to the subject of the interoceanic canal. It contents itself with a mild protest against foreign control of the waterway. That does not amount to anything. The neutralization of the waters and the defence of the proposed canal must be guaranteed by some great power. If the conditions of military and naval defence involve the construction of the canal, foreign control must be rigorously prevented. The only practical method of accomplishing this object is the establishment of American control of the canal. The way to control the canal is to control it.

#### REPUBLICAN POLICY UNCOMPROMISING.

The Republican party recognizes this obligation without equivocation and reserve. In its National Platform of this year is this explicit declaration: "The construction of the Nicaragua Canal is of the highest importance to the American people, both as a measure of national defence and to build up and maintain American commerce, and IT SHOULD BE CONTROLLED BY THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT." That is a canal policy which has in it the sterling ring of the Monroe doctrine.

#### THE NICARAGUA PROJECT.

Among the projects of connecting the two oceans, the Nicaragua Canal has always been favored by American engineers as the only practicable one. It has been undertaken by an American corporation, and the work is now in progress after the completion of thorough and scientific surveys, which were neglected by the French at Panama. Of the scheme, as a whole, it may be stated that Nature has done a large part of the work of connecting the oceans, and has greatly facilitated what remains to be finished by human effort.

#### WITH AND NOT AGAINST NATURE.

At Panama the engineers were working against Nature. There were mountains to be pierced and brought down to sea level; there were floods to be regulated without sufficient area for reservoirs; there was a deadly climate, and there were no winds in the Bay of Panama to carry sailing vessels out into the Pacific from the proposed canal. In Nicaragua the engineers are working with Nature. Lake Nicaragua is within 17 miles of the Pacific, and the San Juan River is a natural ship channel for  $64\frac{1}{2}$  miles, or within  $31\frac{1}{2}$  miles of the Caribbean Sea. There are three natural basins of large area, which can be flooded during



the rainy season without injury to the Canal. There is only one great rock cut, and that is insignificant in comparison with the Isthmus mountains. There is a climate favorable for the construction of a work of the first magnitude. There are trade winds which will blow sailing vessels into the Canal from either end without risk of their being becalmed for weeks at the other end. Nature is the friend and ally of the Nicaragua project, and not its irreconcilable foe.

#### PROPOSALS FOR A GUARANTEE.

The conditions for the construction of this waterway are so markedly favorable, and the advantages to be derived from its completion, both in a commercial and a military sense, are so apparent, that President Harrison, in his messages, has taken very strong ground in favor of the work. The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, after a thorough investigation of the subject, reported, in 1891, a bill embodying a Government guarantee of \$100,000,000 for the enterprise. This measure was debated with great spirit and intelligence, but no vote upon it was reached. The strongest argument for a Government guarantee is that it will settle the question of American control of the Canal. If the credit of the United States be employed for facilitating and cheapening the construction of this great work, and for securing low tolls after its completion, all diplomatic controversies will be rapidly adjusted.

#### THE CLAYTON-BULWER CONVENTION.

The circuit of canal diplomacy will never be complete until the Clayton-Bulwer treaty is abrogated. That antiquated convention, which has never served any useful purpose, will always remain a source of embarrassment to the State Department. The present guardianship of the Mosquito reservation by Great Britain under a decision rendered by the Emperor of Austria is a sufficient warrant for the withdrawal of the United States from that treaty. The conversion of Belize into a Crown colony has been as clear a repudiation of the English covenant upon which the joint protectorate was based. Every prohibition of the right of the United States to exercise practical control over the canal, and also to fortify and garrison islands in the lake near San Carlos, ought to be removed by the cancellation of the Treaty.

#### AMERICAN CONTROL NECESSARY.

American control will be necessary, because the San Juan River, when converted into a ship channel, will remain the boundary between two rival States, which have been strongly influenced by resentments and jealousies for several generations. The United States Government is the only one which can properly be depended upon to induce these States to cease wrangling over their frontiers and to maintain friendly relations with each other in the interests of the world's commerce. American control is indispensable from this point of view. A joint Protectorate would be an interminable source of international

strife and intrigue. While disclaiming any desire to make acquisitions of territory in Central America, the United States can justly claim and secure the right of fortifying the canal, either at the ends or in the middle, and of defending the approaches by naval force. This is what American control will involve, whether it be grounded upon a Government guarantee or upon an exclusively American investment.

#### COMMERCIAL AND MILITARY REASONS.

The completion of the Nicaragua Canal will virtually bring the Atlantic and Gulf seabords into direct communication with the Pacific. It will offer a magnificent opening for the expansion of American commerce with the west coast of this continent below California, and with China, Japan and Australia. On this ground an American policy respecting this waterway is urgently required. Even more imperative is the consideration that the Canal will bring the Atlantic and Pacific seabords into close relations for purposes of military and naval defence. That involves the necessity of American control of the waterway.

#### ENGLAND'S LINE OF FORTRESSES.

From Halifax to Bermuda, and thence to Kingston and St. Lucia, England has established, during the last twenty-five years, a line of impregnable naval stations and dock-yards where ships can be repaired and coaled and military garrisons marshaled into an aggressive army. Two of these fortresses command the approaches to the Nicaragua and Panama Canal routes. With this menacing line of naval stations on the Atlantic side, it is only prudent for Americans to take the strongest possible ground respecting the control and defence of any interoceanic canal which may be opened on this continent. The Democratic party, with characteristic lack of courage, evades the responsibility of declaring that the United States ought to be armed with the exclusive right of protecting the Canal. The Republican party, loyal to its traditions and true to its instincts, proclaims an American Canal policy that is strong, positive and grounded upon enlightened self-interest.

#### NAVAL INTERESTS INVOLVED.

Secretary Tracy has shown in one of his reports how great a saving would be effected in naval expenditures by the opening of the Canal. With the waterway completed, the naval forces on the opposite seabords could be readily concentrated in an emergency like that of the recent Chilian complications. But, in order that the Canal should be open at such times to vessels of war, it would be necessary to have it under American control, just as the Suez Canal was virtually under British control in the Gladstone Government's operations against Egypt.

#### PRESIDENT HARRISON'S STRONG VIEWS.

President Harrison has advocated the construction of the canal under a Government guarantee on commercial

as well as military grounds. "I deem it," he has said in his third message, "to be a matter of the highest concern to the United States that this Canal should be speedily constructed, and at the smallest practicable limit of cost. The gain in freights to the people, and the direct saving to the Government of the United States in the use of its naval vessels, would pay the entire cost of this work within a short series of years. \* \* \* I most sincerely hope that neither party nor sectional lines will be drawn upon this great American project, so full of interest to the people of all our States, and so influential in its effects upon the prestige and prosperity of our common country."

#### A RESOLUTE CANAL POLICY.

Unless the French company can succeed in its desperate attempt to raise \$100,000,000 for the completion of the Panama Canal, the Colombian Government will take possession of what remains of that financial wreck early in 1893. That project will then be in the market for the highest bidder from London or Berlin. If work in Central America goes on without interruption the Panama Canal will be abandoned. Americans have the commanding opportunity of completing the waterway in Nicaragua. It will be a great work for the commerce and civilization of the world. The responsibility of protecting that waterway is one which cannot be divided with any European power. It must be under American control. There must be no compromise of the Monroe doctrine. That is the principle to which the Republican Party is committed most positively by the Platform of 1892. As for the Democracy, it has its attitude and its empty phrases, but no real and enduring Canal policy.

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#### It Will Win.

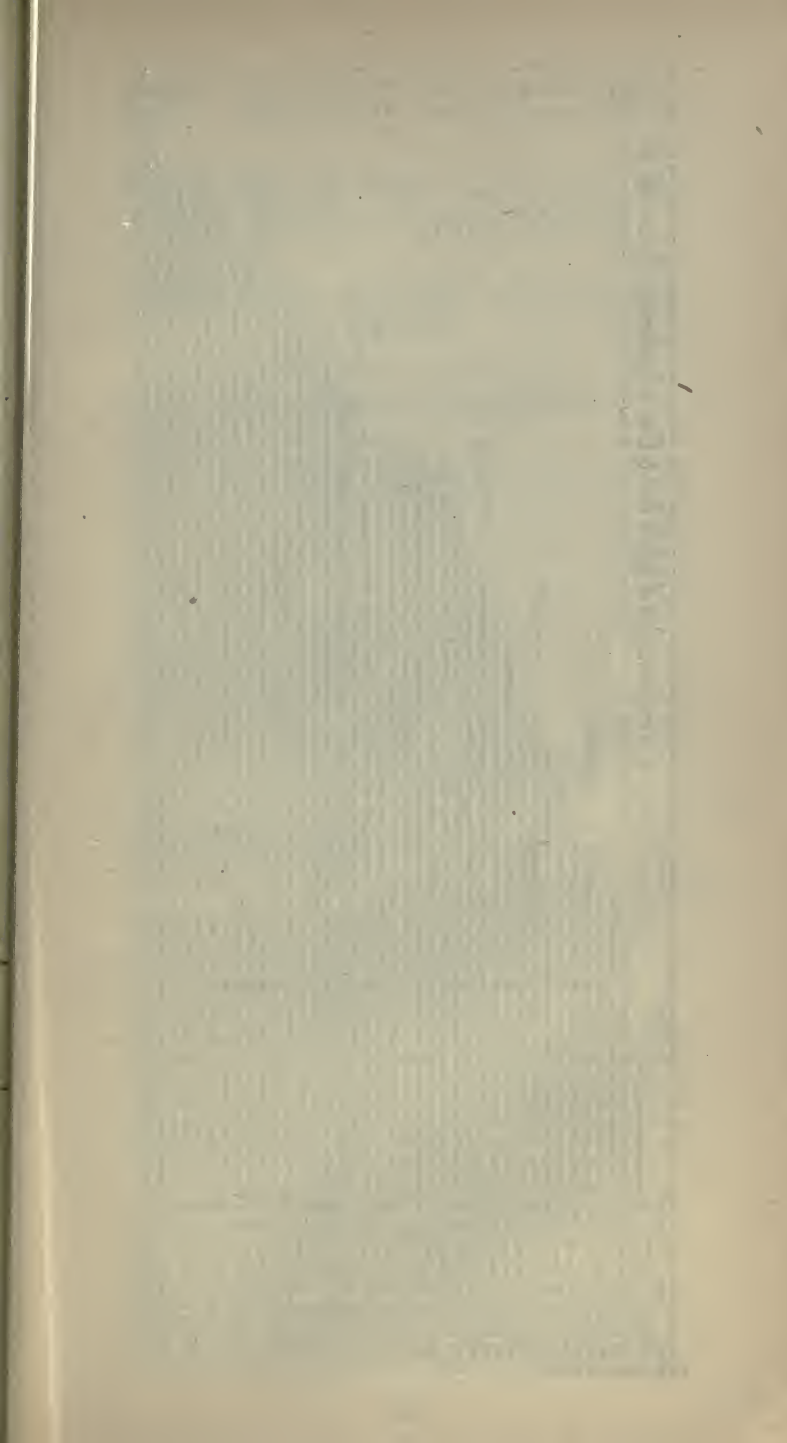
The Republican party has always fought its battles single-handed against great odds, and now, with principles untarnished and courage undaunted, it will again triumph over the combined force of all its foes.

—JAMES G. BLAINE.

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#### Social Conditions in Free Trade England.

The class of agricultural laborers of this country are never able to do more than make both ends meet, and have to look forward, in time of illness or on the approach of old age, to the workhouse as the one inevitable refuge against starvation. \* \* \* Children are stunted in their growth and dulled in their intellects for want of proper nourishment and proper food. The houses of the poor are so scanty and so inefficient that the most horrible immorality prevails, which seldom comes to the surface, but which is known to all those who move among the poor, while the ordinary conditions of life among the large proportion of the population are such that common decency is absolutely impossible; and all this goes on in sight of the mansions of the rich. \* \* \* Private charity of all forms and religious organizations can do nothing to remedy the evils which are so deep set in our social system.—THE RIGHT HON. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN.





# Average Number of Ballots Cast to Elect a Presidential Elector - 1888

Rank	State	Ballots	5,000 Ballots	10,000 Ballots	15,000 Ballots	20,000 Ballots	25,000 Ballots	30,000 Ballots	35,000 Ballots	40,000
38	Nevada	4,202	100							
37	S. Carolina	8,862	100	S.C.						
36	Delaware	9,929	100	Del.						
35	Rhode Island	10,194	100	R.I.						
34	Georgia	11,912	100	Ga.						
33	Mississippi	12,872	100	Miss.						
32	Louisiana	14,495	100	La.						
31	Vermont	15,869	100	Vt.						
30	Florida	16,650	100	Fla.						
29	Alabama	17,511	100	Ala.						
28	Oregon	20,638	100	Or.						
27	Maine	21,375	100	Maine						
26	Arkansas	22,277	100	Ark.						
25	New Hampshire	22,705	100	N.H.						
24	Massachusetts	24,607	100	Mass.						
23	Tennessee	25,515	100	Tenn.						
22	Virginia	25,341	100	Va.						
21	Connecticut	25,663	100	Conn.						
20	N. Carolina	25,952	100	N.C.						
19	Maryland	26,865	100	Md.						
18	Kentucky	26,521	100	Ky.						
17	W. Virginia	26,527	100	W. Va.						
16	Texas	27,490	100	Texas						
15	United States	28,397	100	U.S.						
14	Colorado	30,654	100	Colo.						
13	Iowa	31,087	100	Iowa						
12	California	31,417	100	Cal.						
11	Wisconsin	32,238	100	Wis.						
10	Missouri	32,583	100	Mo.						
9	Pennsylvania	33,252	100	Penn.						
8	New Jersey	33,747	100	N.J.						
7	Illinois	33,992	100	Ill.						
6	Indiana	35,801	100	Ind.						
5	Michigan	36,565	100	Mich.						
4	Ohio	36,606	100	Ohio						
3	New York	36,891	100	N.Y.						
2	Kansas	36,891	100	Kan.						
1	Minnesota	36,891	100	Minn.						
1	Nebraska	40,328	100	Nebr.						

# FOR HONEST ELECTIONS.

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**Every Man to Have One Vote and  
that Vote to be Duly Counted.**

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## **DEMOCRACY'S RECORD OF GENERAL FRAUD.**

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### **A Non-Partisan Commission.**

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No serious person will question the statement of fact that elections are not in all parts of this country, surely, certainly, and unfailingly conducted with fairness. None will question that there is an electoral disease. None will deny that in certain States electoral frauds of one kind and another are resorted to constantly and systematically. Nor will any deny that the foundation principle of our form of government is the equality of the citizens at the ballot box. If by artifices, even legal in character, one man is permitted to count more than another when he comes to cast his vote, a wrong is committed which, in our country at least, has all the qualities of high treason.

The Republican party holds nothing so dear as free and fair elections. The tariff, currency, reciprocity—all are minor issues compared with that of a free ballot and a fair count. If the suffrage is tainted all is tainted. If men go to Congress who have no business there; if men are put into State Legislatures, there to vote for United States Senators, without the right to sit in such Legislatures, every elector throughout the Union is denied his equal and proportionate influence in the determination of public questions.

To Republicans it seems as if it ought not to be necessary to argue these matters; it seems as if the equality of the suffrage, its purity, its freedom from all force and fraud—ought to be so dear a principle to every American heart as that all measures for the reformation of electoral methods would be discussed and determined without the slightest reference to their effect on partisan majorities. The idea that any American party can afford to array itself on the side of dishonest elections—that any party can afford to defend electoral crime—certainly ought to be repulsive to every true American.

### **DEMOCRATIC FRAUDS ON THE BALLOT.**

And yet we see the Democratic party in almost every State the persistent opponent of ballot reform; the apologist of electoral crime; the beneficiary of all sorts of electoral misdemeanors, and in many cases the author of laws intended to render easy and safe the perpetration of outrages at the polls. That these things are true in many Southern States is a matter of common notoriety, but the

extent to which this tendency has taken possession of the Democratic party everywhere few people realize. By a series of gigantic frauds the Democratic party of the State of New York in the fall of 1891 stole the Legislature. Their State Board of Canvassers openly and deliberately defied the judgments of the Court of Appeals, five members of whom out of seven were themselves Democrats. Certificates of election were given to persons who were not only not elected, but who were declared by the Court of Appeals to be not elected. The Legislature thus organized passed a series of laws intended to promote frauds at the ballot box. They placed the electoral machinery of the City of New York in the hands of Tammany Hall absolutely, and by a dozen charter amendments affecting as many different cities they gave over similar machinery to individual Democratic officials, such as mayors and police commissioners. The rights of the minority, and, in many cases, of the majority, were overthrown and trampled upon.

### CRIES OF "FORCE BILL!"

These are illustrations of the extent to which the Democratic party is going in its criminal conspiracies against the ballot; and, when a Republican protests, it is thought a sufficient answer to yell "Force Bill!" If a Republican says that ballots ought to be freely cast and fairly counted, his Democratic neighbor shrieks "Force Bill." If a Republican says that one man's influence in public affairs ought to be equal to every other man's, he is at once accused of talking in favor of Federal bayonets and centralization. He is accused of aiming to control the election of Congressmen from Washington, and of seeking to undermine local self-government.

### WHAT THE ELECTIONS BILL PROVIDED.

All such charges are utterly baseless. The Elections bill of the Fifty-first Congress was no more a "Force Bill" than are the Ten Commandments. It simply recited a number of acts which all intelligent persons admit to be criminal in their nature, and it said that these acts must not be committed under penalties of fine and imprisonment, to be adjudged in the courts of law through the ordinary machinery by which judicial judgments are obtained and enforced. Not a line or a word suggested Federal bayonets or the use of any other mode of prevention or punishment than those everywhere in use to sustain the criminal statutes.

It made false registration a crime.

It made unlawful interference with registration a crime.

It made willfully keeping any false poll list, or knowingly entering false names or false statements thereon, a crime.

It made the giving or receiving of a bribe to induce a person to vote or refrain from voting a crime.

It required the ballot box to be placed in plain sight of the voters, and in such a position as to enable the election officers, National and State, and the voter when voting, to see that the ballot was placed in the box.

It made the willful rejection of legal votes a crime.

It made the willful acceptance of illegal votes a crime.

It made the fraudulent substitution of one ballot for another, for the purpose of having the vote rejected, and for the purpose of having it counted for a person other than the voter intended, a crime.

It made the willfully placing of ballots not lawfully cast in any ballot box among ballots lawfully cast for the purpose of changing the result, a crime.

It made the unlawfully removing of ballots from a ballot box, lawfully cast, for the purpose of affecting the result of the election, a crime.

It made the willful false canvass of votes, or the false certification of such a vote, a crime.

It made it a crime for every officer charged with a duty under the law to willfully neglect to perform such duty, or to be guilty of any corrupt or fraudulent conduct of practice in its execution.

It made false swearing, in matters pertaining to Congressional election, perjury.

It made stealing the ballot box, or the ballots, a felony.

It provided just punishment, by fine or imprisonment, or both, for each of these crimes against a government by the people through manhood suffrage.

This was the bill. There was not a section, line, or syllable in it, besides this, more than was necessary to enforce with certainty these provisions.

#### A NON-PARTISAN COMMISSION.

In pursuance of their general policy of misrepresentation, the Democrats have given to this bill in many quarters the reputation of a "force bill." Except in so far as it enjoined admittedly righteous conduct upon all people, and forbids them from admittedly unrighteous conduct, it is as innocent of force as a proverb.

The Republican party, however, is in no sense committed to this bill, or to any other particular method of curing the evil of dishonest elections. The President, in messages to Congress, and in his letter of acceptance, has suggested the appointment of a non-partisan commission to take into consideration the whole subject of electoral laws, and to arrange a system which can be open to no party misrepresentation for the accomplishment of results which all honorable citizens must concede to be wise and necessary. The Republican party asks nothing except that the ballot shall be everywhere maintained in its purity, let the result on election day be whatever it will.



# CLEVELAND'S LABOR RECORD.

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He Has Written Himself the Relent-  
less Enemy of All Labor  
Reforms.

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A FULL AND CORRECT LIST OF HIS  
LABOR VETOES.

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They Include the Anti-Convict Labor Bill, the Mechanics' Lien Law, the Life and Limb Bill, the Tenement House Cigar Bill, the Five-Cent Fare Bill, and the Child's Labor Bill.

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## CLEVELAND, THE CONVICT LABOR CANDIDATE.

In the Democratic platform, adopted at Chicago, occurs the following: "We denounce the McKinley Tariff law, enacted by the Fifty-first Congress, \* \* \* and we **promise its repeal** as one of the beneficent results that will follow the action of the people in entrusting power to the Democratic party."

## THE MCKINLEY BILL PREVENTS THE PRODUCT OF CONVICT LABOR FROM ENTERING THIS COUNTRY.

The Fifty-first Section of the present Republican Tariff, known as the McKinley Law, provides as follows:

"SEC. 51. That all goods, wares, articles of merchandise, **manufactured** wholly or in part in any foreign country **by convict labor shall not be entitled to entry** at any of the ports of the United States, and the **importation** thereof is hereby **prohibited**, and the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to prescribe such regulations as may be necessary for the enforcement of this provision."

Under the direction of this statute, no article is admitted into this country without a sworn statement from the shipper and the importer that it is not the product of convict labor. This is a part of the law which the Democratic platform declares will be repealed in case power is entrusted to the Democratic Party.

## CLEVELAND, THE CONVICT-LABOR CANDIDATE.

If it is argued that the Democratic attack upon the McKinley law is not aimed at this particular section, the answer is that Mr. Cleveland, as President of the United States, has **already committed himself to the policy of employing convicts in Government works**, and of deriving Government revenue from their labor in direct competition with free labor.

Not only would Mr. Cleveland admit the product of foreign convict labor, but he would employ all the convicts in Federal prisons in industrial pursuits, and would have the Government make money out of their work.

In his annual message, dated December 6th, 1886, Mr. Cleveland, referring to the construction of penitentiaries for the confinement of all prisoners convicted and sentenced in United States Courts, says:

“Upon consideration of this subject it might be wise to erect more than one of these institutions located at such places as would best subserve the purposes of business and economy in transportation. The considerable cost of maintaining these convicts, as at present, in State institutions would be saved by the adoption of the plan proposed; and, by employing them in the manufacture of such articles as were needed for use by the Government, quite a large pecuniary benefit would be realized in partial return for our outlay.”

#### CLEVELAND'S PERSISTENT HOSTILITY TO LABOR REFORMS.

Not only by this ugly recommendation, but by actually twice preventing the full enactment of anti-convict labor laws, has Mr. Cleveland demonstrated his desire to utilize prison labor in competition with the labor of freemen. In 1886, and again in 1888, he killed by “pocket vetoes” Acts of Congress forbidding the use by the Government of the product of convict labor. This law became operative only when Cleveland was defeated, and General Harrison became President. Then it was promptly signed.

The following is an itemized record of Cleveland's acts in opposition to labor reforms:

While Governor of New York:

He vetoed the **mechanics' lien law bill**, making the wages of workmen engaged in the construction of buildings a first mortgage on the property.

He vetoed the **life and limb bill**, making employers responsible for accidents happening from imperfect machinery or inferior construction of buildings.

He vetoed the **tenement house cigar bill**, forbidding the manufacture of cigars in tenement houses.

He vetoed the bill compelling the **elevated roads** of New York City to charge only **5 cents fare**.

He vetoed the **printers' bill**, requiring all the **State printing to be done by union workmen**.

He vetoed the bill making **ten hours a legal day's work** for all street-car employees.

He vetoed the bill **abolishing convict labor in prisons**, although this proposition when submitted to the popular vote of the people was carried by a majority of 60,000.

He vetoed the **child-labor bill** providing for the inspection of factories where children were employed, and prohibiting the employment of children under fourteen years of age.

He signed the bill compelling the stationary engineers of New York City to **pay a tax of \$2 per year** to the Police Pension Fund or be debarred from following their vocation.

He signed the bill **reducing the fees of the New York Harbor pilots**, which bill benefited only the foreign steamship monopolies.

While President of the United States:

**He killed** by a "pocket veto" the **Arbitration bill**, compelling the reference to impartial arbiters of labor controversies in certain contingencies.

**He killed** by a "pocket veto" the **Anti-Convict Labor bill** of 1886, and also that of 1888, forbidding the use by Government officials of any merchandise the product of convict labor.

And, in his message of December 6, 1886, **he recommended the employment of all Federal convicts** in manufacturing pursuits in Federal prisons and the **use by the Government** of the product of their labor.

**WILL HONEST WORKINGMEN VOTE TO BRING THEIR LABOR INTO COMPETITION WITH THAT OF CONVICTS?**

Grover Cleveland has thus written himself the Convict-Labor Candidate. There is no mistaking his intention or that of his party. The Democrats will repeal the McKinley bill if it is entrusted with power. The product of foreign convict labor will then come into our ports freely, and prisons will be built by the Federal Government, while convicts will be employed in the manufacturing industries, the Government realizing the profits of their labor.

Do the workingmen of the United States desire to have this programme carried out? If they do, they will vote for Cleveland and Stevenson, the convict-labor candidates on a convict-labor platform; if they do not, they will vote for Harrison and Reid, and they will sustain the Republican law which forbids the entry of the products of convict labor in competition with the production of American citizens.

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## Presidents and Vice-Presidents.

Presidents.	Vice-Presidents.	Term of Office.
George Washington.	John Adams.....	1789-1797.
John Adams.....	Thomas Jefferson...	1797-1801.
Thomas Jefferson...	Aaron Burr... ..	1801-1805.
Thomas Jefferson...	George Clinton.....	1805-1809.
James Madison.....	George Clinton.....	1809-1813.
James Madison.....	Elbridge Gerry.....	1813-1817.
James Monroe.....	Daniel D. Tompkins.	1817-1825.
John Q. Adams.....	John C. Calhoun....	1825-1829.
Andrew Jackson....	John C. Calhoun....	1829-1833.
Andrew Jackson....	Martin Van Buren ..	1833-1837.
Martin Van Buren ..	Richard M. Johnson.	1837-1841.
William Henry Har- rison.....	John Tyler.....	1841-1 month.
John Tyler.....	.....	1841-1845—3 years 11 mos.
James K. Polk.....	George M. Dallas....	1845-1849.
Zachary Taylor.....	Millard Fillmore ....	1849-1 year 4 months.
Millard Fillmore ....	.....	1849-1853—2 years 8 mos.
Franklin Pierce.....	William B. King . .	1853-1857.
James Buchanan....	J. C. Breckenridge ..	1857-1861.
Abraham Lincoln....	Hannibal Hamlin....	1861-1865.
Abraham Lincoln....	Andrew Johnson....	1865-1 month.
Andrew Johnson....	.....	1865-1869—3 years 11 mos
Ulysses S. Grant....	Schuyler Colfax.....	1869-1873.
Ulysses S. Grant....	Henry Wilson.....	1873-1877.
Rutherford B. Hayes	William A. Wheeler.	1877-1881.
James A. Garfield...	Chester A. Arthur ..	1881-6½ months.
Chester A. Arthur ..	.....	3 years 5½ months.
Grover Cleveland....	T. A. Hendricks.....	1885-1889.
Benjamin Harrison.	Levi P. Morton.....	1889—.



## Popular Vote for President.

STATES.	1880.		1884.		1888.	
	Garfield (Rep.)	Hancock (Dem.)	Blaine (Rep.)	Cleveland (Dem.)	Harrison (Rep.)	Cleveland (Dem.)
Alabama....	56,221	91,185	59,591	93,951	56,197	117,320
Arkansas....	42,436	60,775	50,895	72,927	58,752	85,962
California....	80,348	80,426	102,416	89,288	124,816	117,729
Colorado....	27,450	24,647	36,290	27,723	50,774	37,567
Connecticut..	67,071	64,415	65,923	67,199	74,584	74,920
Delaware....	14,133	15,275	12,951	16,964	12,973	16,414
Florida.....	23,654	27,964	28,031	31,766	26,657	39,561
Georgia.....	54,086	102,470	48,603	94,667	40,466	100,499
Illinois.....	318,037	277,321	337,474	312,355	370,473	348,278
Indiana.....	232,164	225,522	238,463	244,990	263,361	261,013
Iowa.....	183,927	105,845	197,089	177,316	211,598	179,877
Kansas.....	121,549	59,801	154,406	90,132	182,904	102,745
Kentucky....	106,306	149,068	118,122	152,961	155,134	183,800
Louisiana....	38,637	65,067	46,347	62,540	30,484	85,032
Maine.....	74,039	65,171	72,209	52,140	73,734	50,481
Maryland....	73,515	93,706	85,699	96,932	99,986	106,168
Mass.....	165,205	111,960	146,724	122,481	183,892	151,855
Michigan....	185,341	131,594	192,669	149,835	236,387	213,469
Minnesota...	93,902	53,315	111,923	70,144	142,492	104,385
Mississippi...	34,854	75,750	43,509	76,510	30,096	85,471
Missouri....	153,567	208,609	202,929	235,988	236,257	261,974
Nebraska....	54,979	28,523	76,912	54,391	108,425	80,552
Nevada.....	8,732	9,613	7,193	5,578	7,229	5,326
N.Hampshire	44,852	40,794	43,249	39,183	45,724	43,382
New Jersey..	120,555	122,565	123,440	127,798	144,344	151,493
New York....	555,544	534,511	562,005	563,154	648,759	635,757
N. Carolina..	115,874	124,208	125,068	142,952	134,784	147,902
Ohio.....	375,048	340,821	400,082	368,280	416,054	396,455
Oregon.....	20,619	19,948	26,860	24,604	33,291	26,522
Pennsylvania	444,704	407,428	473,804	392,785	526,091	446,633
Rhode Island	18,195	20,779	19,030	12,391	21,968	17,530
S. Carolina..	53,071	112,312	21,733	69,890	13,736	65,825
Tennessee...	107,677	128,181	124,078	133,258	138,988	158,779
Texas.....	57,893	156,428	93,141	225,309	88,422	234,883
Vermont.....	45,567	18,316	39,514	17,331	45,192	16,788
Virginia.....	84,020	128,586	139,356	145,497	150,438	151,977
W. Virginia..	46,243	57,391	63,096	67,317	78,171	78,677
Wisconsin...	144,400	114,649	161,157	146,459	176,553	155,232
Total.....	4,454,416	4,444,952	4,851,981	4,874,986	5,440,216	5,538,233
Majority....	9,464		Plurality	23,005		98,017

## Vote in the New States for Congress, 1888.

	Rep.	Dem.	Ind. Rep.	Plu.
Idaho.....	8,151	6,404	1,458	1,747
Montana....	22,486	17,360		5,126
North Dakota	25,290	15,801		9,489
South Dakota	44,906	25,044		19,862
Washington ..	26,201	18,920		7,281
Wyoming.....	10,451	7,557		2,894

## Population of the United States.

States and Territories.	1890.	1880.	1870.
Alabama .....	1,513,017	1,262,505	996,992
Arkansas .....	1,128,179	802,525	484,471
Arizona .....	59,620	40,440	9,658
California .....	1,208,130	864,694	560,247
Colorado .....	412,198	194,327	39,864
Connecticut .....	746,258	622,700	537,454
Delaware .....	168,493	146,608	125,015
District of Columbia .....	230,392	177,624	131,700
Florida .....	391,422	269,493	187,748
Georgia .....	1,837,253	1,542,180	1,184,109
Illinois .....	3,826,351	3,077,871	2,539,891
Indiana .....	2,192,404	1,978,301	1,680,637
Iowa .....	1,911,896	1,624,615	1,194,020
Idaho .....	84,385	32,600	14,999
Kansas .....	1,427,096	996,096	364,299
Kentucky .....	1,858,635	1,648,690	1,321,011
Louisiana .....	1,118,587	939,946	726,915
Maine .....	661,086	648,936	626,915
Maryland .....	1,042,390	934,943	780,894
Massachusetts .....	2,238,943	1,783,085	1,457,351
Michigan .....	2,093,889	1,636,937	1,184,059
Minnesota .....	1,301,826	780,773	439,706
Missouri .....	2,679,184	2,168,380	1,721,295
Mississippi .....	1,289,600	1,131,597	827,922
Montana .....	132,159	39,159	20,595
New Hampshire .....	376,530	346,991	318,300
New Jersey .....	1,444,933	1,131,116	906,096
New Mexico .....	153,593	119,565	91,874
New York .....	5,997,853	5,082,871	4,382,759
North Carolina .....	1,617,947	1,399,750	1,071,361
North Dakota .....	182,719	36,909	*
Nebraska .....	1,058,910	452,402	122,993
Nevada .....	45,761	62,266	42,491
Ohio .....	3,672,316	3,198,062	2,665,260
Oklohamama .....	61,834		
Oregon .....	312,767	174,768	90,923
Pennsylvania .....	5,258,014	4,282,891	3,521,951
Rhode Island .....	345,506	276,531	217,353
South Carolina .....	1,151,149	995,577	705,606
South Dakota .....	328,808	98,268	*
Tennessee .....	1,767,518	1,542,359	1,258,520
Texas .....	2,235,523	1,591,749	818,579
Utah .....	207,905	143,963	86,786
Vermont .....	332,422	332,286	330,551
Virginia .....	1,655,980	1,512,565	1,225,163
Washington .....	349,390	75,116	23,955
West Virginia .....	762,794	618,457	442,014
Wisconsin .....	1,686,880	1,315,497	1,054,670
Wyoming .....	60,805	20,789	9,118
Grand total .....	62,622,250	50,155,783	38,558,371

\* Dakota in 1870 was 14,181.

# Harrison's Vote at Minneapolis.

VOTE OF CANDIDATES FOR PRESIDENT. REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION, JUNE 7, 1892, MINNEAPOLIS.

STATES.	Harrison.	Blaine.	McKinley	Reed.	Lincoln.
Alabama .....	15	0	7	0	0
Arkansas .....	15	0	1	0	0
California .....	8	9	1	0	0
Colorado .....	0	8	0	0	0
Connecticut .....	4	0	8	0	0
Delaware .....	4	1	1	0	0
Florida .....	8	0	0	0	0
Georgia .....	26	0	0	0	0
Idaho .....	0	6	0	0	0
Illinois .....	34	14	0	0	0
Indiana .....	30	0	0	0	0
Iowa .....	20	5	1	0	0
Kansas .....	11	0	9	0	0
Kentucky .....	22	2	1	0	0
Louisiana .....	8	8	0	0	0
Maine .....	0	12	0	0	0
Maryland .....	14	0	2	0	0
Massachusetts .....	18	1	11	0	0
Michigan .....	7	2	19	0	0
Minnesota .....	8	9	1	0	0
Mississippi .....	13½	4½	0	0	0
Missouri .....	28	4	2	0	0
Montana .....	5	1	0	0	0
Nebraska .....	15	0	1	0	0
Nevada .....	0	6	0	0	0
New Hampshire .....	4	2	0	1	1
New Jersey .....	18	2	0	0	0
New York .....	27	35	10	0	0
North Carolina .....	17⅔	2⅔	1	0	0
North Dakota .....	2	4	0	0	0
Ohio .....	1	0	45	0	0
Oregon .....	1	0	7	0	0
Pennsylvania .....	19	3	42	0	0
Rhode Island .....	5	1	1	1	0
South Carolina .....	13	3	2	0	0
South Dakota .....	8	0	0	0	0
Tennessee .....	17	4	3	0	0
Texas .....	22	6	0	2	0
Vermont .....	8	0	0	0	0
Virginia .....	9	13	2	0	0
Washington .....	1	6	1	0	0
West Virginia .....	12	0	0	0	0
Wisconsin .....	19	2	3	0	0
Wyoming .....	4	2	0	0	0
TERRITORIES.					
Alaska .....	2	0	0	0	0
Arizona .....	1	1	0	0	0
District of Columbia .....	0	2	0	0	0
Indian Territory .....	1	1	0	0	0
New Mexico .....	6	0	0	0	0
Oklahoma .....	2	0	0	0	0
Utah .....	2	0	0	0	0
Total .....	535 1/6	182 1/6	182	4	1

Absent and not voting 1¾.

Whole number of votes in Convention, 906; number cast, 904½; necessary to a choice, 453.

General Harrison's majority over all, 166.

# Cleveland's Vote at Chicago.

VOTE OF CANDIDATES FOR PRESIDENT. DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL  
CONVENTION, JUNE 21, 1892, CHICAGO.

Delegates.	State.	Cleveland.	Hill.	Bates.	Morrison.	Campbell.	Gorman.	Carlisle.	Stevenson.	Pattison.	Russell.	Whitney.
22	Alabama.....	14	2	1	2	2	1					
16	Arkansas.....	16										
18	California.....	18										
8	Colorado.....		3	5								
12	Connecticut.....	12										
6	Delaware.....	6										
8	Florida.....	5						3				
26	Georgia.....	17	5			4						
6	Idaho.....			6								
48	Illinois.....	48										
30	Indiana.....	30										
26	Iowa.....			26								
20	Kansas.....	20										
26	Kentucky.....	18		2				6				
16	Louisiana.....	3	1	11		1						
12	Maine.....	9	1			1						1
16	Maryland.....	6				9½						
30	Massachusetts.....	24	4	1							1	
28	Michigan.....	28										
18	Minnesota.....	18										
18	Mississippi.....	8	3	3		4						
34	Missouri.....	34										
6	Montana.....			6								
16	Nebraska.....	15		4		2						
6	Nevada.....											
8	New Hampshire.....	8										
20	New Jersey.....	20										
72	New York.....		72									
22	North Carolina.....	3½		1	1			16½				
6	North Dakota.....	6										
46	Ohio.....	14	6	16		5	5					
8	Oregon.....	8										
64	Pennsylvania.....	64										
8	Rhode Island.....	8										
18	South Carolina.....	2	3	13								
8	South Dakota.....	7		1								
24	Tennessee.....	24										
30	Texas.....	23	1	6								
8	Vermont.....	8										
24	Virginia.....	12	11			1						
8	Washington.....	8										
12	West Virginia.....	7	1			3				1	1	
24	Wisconsin.....	24										
6	Wyoming.....	3				3						
2	Alaska.....	2										
6	Arizona.....	5				1						
2	District Columbia.....	2										
2	Indian Territory.....	2										
6	New Mexico.....	4	1	1								
2	Oklahoma.....	2										
2	Utah.....	2										
910	Total.....	617½	114	103	3	2	36½	14	16½	1	2	1

Whole number of votes in Convention, 910; necessary to a choice, 607, or two thirds; Mr. Cleveland's majority over all, 324.



## The Electoral College.

HOW IT STOOD UNDER THE OLD APPORTIONMENT AND HOW IT STANDS NOW.

States.	Old.	New.	Increase.
Alabama .....	10	11	1
Arkansas.....	7	8	1
California.....	8	9	1
Colorado.....	3	4	1
Connecticut.....	6	6	
Delaware.....	3	3	
Florida .....	4	4	
Georgia .....	12	13	1
Idaho.....		3	3
Illinois.....	22	24	2
Indiana.....	15	15	
Iowa.....	13	13	
Kansas.....	9	10	1
Kentucky.....	13	13	
Louisiana.....	8	8	
Maine.....	6	6	
Maryland.....	8	8	
Massachusetts.....	14	15	1
Michigan.....	13	14	1
Minnesota.....	7	9	2
Mississippi.....	9	9	
Missouri.....	16	17	1
Montana.....		3	3
Nebraska.....	5	8	3
Nevada.....	3	3	
New Hampshire.....	4	4	
New Jersey.....	9	10	1
New York.....	36	36	
North Carolina.....	11	11	
North Dakota.....		3	3
Ohio.....	23	23	
Oregon.....	3	4	1
Pennsylvania.....	30	32	2
Rhode Island.....	4	4	
South Carolina.....	9	9	
South Dakota.....		4	4
Tennessee.....	12	12	
Texas.....	13	15	2
Vermont.....	4	4	
Virginia.....	12	12	
Washington.....		4	4
West Virginia.....	6	6	
Wisconsin.....	11	12	1
Wyoming.....		3	3
	401	444	43

Electoral votes necessary to a choice, 233.

## The New Congress.

ITS APPORTIONMENT AMONG THE STATES ACCORDING TO THE LAW OF  
1890.

The New Apportionment Bill, which, however, does not go into effect until March, 1893, after the Presidential election, provides for a House of 356 Representatives, being an increase of 24 over the present number. No State will lose a member. New York will continue with its present representation. The States whose membership in the House will be augmented, are as follows: Alabama, gain of 1; Arkansas, 1; California, 1; Colorado, 1; Georgia, 1; Illinois, 2; Kansas, 1; Massachusetts, 1; Michigan, 1; Minnesota, 2; Missouri, 1; Nebraska, 3; New Jersey, 1; Oregon, 1; Pennsylvania, 2; Texas, 2; Washington, 1; Wisconsin, 1. The principal gain is observed in the Western States, which acquire 14 of the 24 new members. The South, counting Missouri as a Southern State, gets 6, while the remainder is distributed among Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Massachusetts. The representation of the Northern States is therefore increased by 18. The Electoral College is augmented by 24 new members, giving that body a membership of 444, making 223 votes necessary for election. The present number, counting in the five new States, Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, North and South Dakota, is 420. This is increased by 24 under the new bill. The new members are from the same States as the new representatives.

States.	Popula- tion in 1890.	Represen- tatives.	States.	Popula- tion in 1890.	Represen- tatives.
Alabama .....	1,513,017	9	Nebraska .....	1,058,910	6
Arkansas .....	1,128,179	6	Nevada .....	45,761	1
California .....	1,208,130	7	New Hampshire...	376,530	2
Colorado .....	412,198	2	New Jersey .....	1,444,933	8
Connecticut .....	746,258	4	New York .....	5,997,853	34
Delaware .....	168,493	1	North Carolina...	1,617,947	9
Florida .....	391,422	2	North Dakota....	182,919	1
Georgia .....	1,837,353	11	Ohio .....	3,672,316	21
Idaho .....	84,385	1	Oregon .....	313,767	2
Illinois .....	3,826,351	22	Pennsylvania....	5,258,014	30
Indiana .....	2,192,404	13	Rhode Island....	345,506	2
Iowa .....	1,911,896	11	South Carolina...	1,151,149	7
Kansas .....	1,427,096	8	South Dakota....	328,808	2
Kentucky .....	1,558,635	11	Tennessee .....	1,767,518	10
Louisiana .....	1,118,587	6	Texas .....	2,235,523	13
Maine .....	661,086	4	Vermont .....	332,422	2
Maryland .....	1,042,390	6	Virginia .....	1,655,980	10
Massachusetts .....	2,238,943	13	Washington .....	349,390	2
Michigan .....	2,093,889	12	West Virginia....	762,794	4
Minnesota .....	1,304,826	7	Wisconsin .....	1,686,880	10
Mississippi .....	1,289,600	7	Wyoming .....	60,705	1
Missouri .....	2,679,184	15			
Montana .....	132,159	1	Total .....	61,998,906	356

### RATIO OF REPRESENTATION IN THE UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

[illegible]

## The Congress Apportionment of 1890.

States.	1890.	1880.	Increase.
Alabama .....	9	8	1
Arkansas.....	6	5	1
California.....	7	6	1
Colorado.....	2	1	1
Connecticut.....	4	4	
Delaware.....	1	1	
Florida .....	2	2	
Georgia.....	11	10	1
Idaho.....	1		1
Illinois .....	22	20	2
Indiana.....	13	13	
Iowa.....	11	11	
Kansas.....	8	7	1
Kentucky .....	11	11	
Louisiana.....	6	6	
Maine.....	4	4	
Maryland.....	6	6	
Massachusetts .....	13	12	1
Michigan.....	12	11	1
Minnesota.....	7	5	2
Mississippi.....	7	7	
Missouri.....	15	14	1
Montana .....	1		1
Nebraska.....	6	3	3
Nevada.....	1	1	
New Hampshire.....	2	2	
New Jersey.....	8	7	1
New York.....	34	34	
North Carolina.....	9	9	
North Dakota.....	1		1
Ohio.....	21	21	
Oregon.....	2	1	1
Pennsylvania.....	30	28	2
Rhode Island.....	2	2	
South Carolina.....	7	7	
South Dakota.....	2		2
Tennessee.....	10	10	
Texas.....	13	11	2
Vermont.....	2	2	
Virginia.....	10	10	
Washington.....	2		2
West Virginia.....	4	4	
Wisconsin.....	10	9	1
Wyoming.....	1		1
Total.....	356	325	31

The Territories—Alaska, Arizona, District of Columbia, Indian Territory, New Mexico, Oklahoma and Utah—will each be represented by a delegate. The delegates have no voice nor vote, except upon questions pertaining to their locality.

## New York in 1888.

THE VOTE BY COUNTIES SHOWING REPUBLICAN STRENGTH ABOVE AND  
DEMOCRATIC BELOW THE HARLEM.

(From the Republican Reference Book.)

Counties.	Harrison.	Cleveland.	Harrison's Maj. by Counties.	Counties.	Harrison.	Cleveland.	Harrison's Maj. by Counties.
Allegany .....	7,067	3,625	3,442	Otsego.....	7,829	6,972	857
Broome.....	8,405	6,447	1,958	Oswego.....	11,296	7,429	3,867
Cattaraugus.	8,586	6,173	2,413	Orleans.....	4,277	3,214	1,063
Cayuga.....	9,646	6,380	3,266	Ontario.....	6,957	5,753	1,204
Chautauqua.	12,108	6,178	5,930	Putnam. ....	2,098	1,515	583
Chenango....	5,798	4,640	1,158	Rensselaer..	15,718	15,410	308
Clinton.....	6,271	4,724	1,547	St. Lawrence	14,611	6,509	8,102
Columbia....	6,447	6,037	410	Saratoga ....	8,594	6,570	2,024
Cortlandt....	4,732	3,163	1,569	Schenectady.	3,633	3,328	305
Delaware.....	6,602	5,332	1,270	Schuyler.....	2,704	1,975	729
Dutchess.....	10,265	9,249	1,016	Steuben.....	11,637	9,154	2,483
Erie.....	31,612	29,543	2,069	Sullivan.....	3,860	3,757	103
Essex.....	5,043	2,930	2,113	Tioga.....	4,852	3,609	1,243
Franklin ....	3,757	3,028	2,729	Tompkins ...	5,073	3,909	1,164
Fulton and				Ulster. ....	10,825	10,487	338
Hamilton..	5,892	4,634	1,258	Warren.....	4,135	2,883	1,252
Genesee .....	4,952	3,633	1,319	Washington.	8,023	4,284	3,739
Herkimer.....	6,683	5,611	1,072	Wayne .....	7,850	5,120	2,730
Jefferson ....	9,861	7,562	2,299	Wyoming....	4,899	3,166	1,733
Lewis.....	4,369	3,807	562	Yates.....	3,410	2,150	1,260
Livingston...	5,584	4,067	1,517	Harrison majorities above			
Madison.....	7,199	4,641	2,558	the Harlem .. . . .			91,197
Monroe.....	21,650	16,677	4,973	<i>Below the Harlem.</i>			
Montgomery.	6,365	5,677	688	Suffolk.....	7,167	6,600	567
Niagara.....	6,856	6,429	457	Majorities in Counties car-			
Onondaga.....	16,241	14,276	1,965	ried by Harrison.....			91,764
Onondaga....	20,144	14,001	6,143				
Orange.....	11,261	10,852	409				



COUNTIES CARRIED BY CLEVELAND, 1888.

*Above the Harlem.*

*Below the Harlem.*

Counties.	Cleveland.	Harrison.	Cleveland's Maj. by Counties.	Counties.	Cleveland.	Harrison.	Cleveland's Maj. by Counties.
Albany.....	21,037	19,362	1,675	Kings.. . . .	82,507	7,052	12,455
Chemung....	6,037	5,467	570	New York..	162,735	106,922	55,813
Greene .....	4,494	4,460	34	Richmond..	5,764	4,100	1,664
Rockland....	3,934	3,013	926	Queens.....	12,683	11,017	1,666
Schoharie. . .	5,006	3,696	1,310	Total vote..		650,338	71,598
Seneca.....	3,705	3,576	129	Below Har-			
Westchester.	14,948	1,379	1,149	lem.....	635,965		5,793
			5,793	Total in			77,391
				State..			

RECAPITULATION.

Harrison's majority above Harlem.....	91,197
Less Cleveland's majority above Harlem.....	5,793
Actual majority Harrison above Harlem.....	85,404
Cleveland's majority south of Harlem.....	71,598
Less Harrison's majority south of Harlem.....	567
Actual majority Cleveland south of Harlem.....	71,031
In other words, Harrison came to the Harlem River with....	85,404
Cleveland came north to the Harlem River with.....	71,031
Majority Harrison over Cleveland.....	14,373

## Where Hill Led Cleveland.

THE VOTE OF NEW YORK BY COUNTIES FOR THE LEADING DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES.

(From the Republican Reference Book.)

Counties.	Hill's Vote by Counties.	Cleve- land's Vote by Counties.	Hill's Gain over Cleve- land by Counties.	Cleve- land's Gain over Hill by Counties.
Albany.....	21,634	21,037	597	.....
Allegany.....	3,662	3,625	37	.....
Broome.....	6,544	6,447	97	.....
Cattaraugus.....	6,274	6,173	101	.....
Cayuga.....	6,693	6,380	313	.....
Chautauqua.....	6,205	6,178	27	.....
Chemung.....	6,240	6,037	212	.....
Chenango.....	4,630	4,640	.....	10
Clinton.....	4,756	4,724	32	.....
Columbia..... <sup>3/4</sup>	6,047	6,037	10	.....
Cortlandt.....	3,188	3,163	25	.....
Delaware.....	5,229	5,332	.....	103
Dutchess.....	9,233	9,249	.....	16
Erie.....	33,050	29,543	3,507	.....
Essex.....	2,977	2,930	47	.....
Franklin.....	3,067	3,028	39	.....
Fulton and Hamilton.....	4,660	4,634	26	.....
Genesee.....	3,722	3,633	89	.....
Greene.....	4,439	4,494	.....	55
Herkimer.....	5,640	5,611	29	.....
Jefferson.....	7,616	7,562	54	.....
Kings.....	82,932	82,507	425	.....
Lewis.....	3,850	3,807	43	.....
Livingston.....	4,188	4,067	121	.....
Madison.....	4,826	4,641	185	.....
Monroe.....	17,602	16,677	925	.....
Montgomery.....	5,749	5,677	72	.....
New York.....	168,454	162,735	5,719	.....
Niagara.....	6,633	6,429	204	.....
Onelda.....	14,786	14,276	510	.....
Onondaga.....	14,679	14,001	678	.....
Ontario.....	5,818	5,753	65	.....
Orange.....	10,854	10,852	2	.....
Orleans.....	3,243	3,214	29	.....
Oswego.....	7,510	7,429	81	.....
Otsego.....	7,068	6,972	96	.....
Putnam.....	1,475	1,515	.....	40
Queens.....	12,653	12,683	.....	30
Rensselaer.....	15,827	15,410	417	.....
Richmond.....	5,532	5,764	.....	232
Rockland.....	3,841	3,939	.....	98
St. Lawrence.....	6,631	6,509	122	.....
Saratoga.....	6,573	6,570	3	.....
Schenectady.....	3,305	3,328	.....	23
Schoharie.....	5,000	5,006	.....	6
Schuyler.....	2,045	1,975	70	.....
Seneca.....	3,731	3,705	26	.....
Steuben.....	9,418	9,154	264	.....
Suffolk.....	6,386	6,600	.....	214
Sullivan.....	3,825	3,757	68	.....
Tioga.....	3,620	3,609	11	.....
Tompkins.....	3,814	3,909	.....	95
Ulster.....	10,550	10,487	63	.....
Warren.....	2,944	2,883	61	.....
Washington.....	4,304	4,284	20	.....
Wayne.....	5,258	5,120	138	.....
Westchester.....	14,485	14,948	.....	463
Wyoming.....	3,818	3,166	152	.....
Yates.....	2,222	2,150	72	.....
Totals.....	650,464	635,965	15,884	1,385

Thus Hill, in 47 Counties, led Cleveland..... 15,844  
Cleveland, in 13 Counties, led Hill..... 1,385

Hill led Cleveland in State..... 14,449

# Presidential Vote in New York State Since 1856.

	Fremont, R.....	276,007	Buchanan, D.....	195,878	Elmre, Am.....	124,604			Plurality.	
1856	Lincoln, R.....	362,646	Douglass, D.....	312,510	.....	.....	.....	.....	Fremont.....	80,129
1860	Lincoln, R.....	368,735	McClellan, D.....	361,986	.....	.....	.....	.....	Lincoln.....	59,136
1864	Grant, R.....	418,883	Seymour, D.....	429,883	.....	.....	.....	.....	Seymour.....	6,747
1868	Grant, R.....	440,736	Greeley, L.....	387,381	.....	.....	.....	.....	Grant.....	10,000
1872	Hayes, R.....	489,207	Tilden, D.....	521,349	Greenbacker.....	1,987	Prohibition.....	2,359	Tilden.....	53,445
1876	Garfield, R.....	555,544	Hancock, D.....	534,511	Weaver, Gr.....	12,373	Dow, Pro.....	1,517	Garnfield.....	32,742
1880	Blaine, R.....	562,201	Cleveland, D.....	563,048	Butler, Gr.....	17,004	St. John, Pro.....	25,006	Cleveland.....	21,033
1884	Harrison, R.....	650,338	Cleveland, D.....	655,965	.....	.....	Fisk, Pro.....	30,231	Harrison.....	1,047
1888										14,373

## Exports and Imports.

TABLE A.

Exports, imports and dutiable imports each year, stated in millions and decimals. Thus 292.9 means \$292,900,000; percentage of imports that were free of duty each year; amount of duties collected, also in millions and decimals; and percentage of duties collected to the value of dutiable imports, and to the value of all imports.

	Exports.	Imports.	Dutiable.	Percentage Free.	Duty Paid.	Percentage to	
						Dutiable Imports.	Total Imports.
1859...	292.9	331.3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1860...	333.5	353.6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1861...	219.5	289.3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1862...	190.6	189.3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1863...	203.9	243.3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1864...	158.8	216.4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1865...	166.0	238.7	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1866...	348.8	434.8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1867...	294.5	395.7	361.1	4.50	168.5	46.67	44.56
1868...	281.9	357.4	329.7	4.40	160.5	48.63	46.49
1869...	286.1	417.5	372.7	5.50	176.5	47.22	44.65
1870...	392.8	435.9	406.1	4.74	191.5	47.08	42.23
1871...	442.8	520.2	459.6	8.12	202.4	43.95	38.94
1872...	444.2	626.6	512.7	8.51	212.6	41.35	37.00
1873...	522.5	642.1	484.7	26.90	184.9	38.07	26.95
1874...	586.3	567.4	415.7	26.73	160.5	38.53	26.88
1875...	513.4	532.0	379.7	27.83	154.5	40.62	28.20
1876...	540.4	460.7	324.0	30.26	145.2	44.74	30.19
1877...	602.5	451.3	299.0	32.02	128.4	42.89	26.68
1878...	694.9	437.1	297.1	32.24	127.2	42.75	27.13
1879...	710.4	445.7	296.7	32.45	133.4	44.87	28.97
1880...	835.6	667.9	419.5	33.15	182.7	43.48	29.07
1881...	902.4	642.7	448.1	31.13	193.8	43.20	29.75
1882...	750.5	724.6	505.5	29.42	216.1	42.66	30.11
1883...	823.8	723.2	493.9	29.52	210.6	42.45	29.92
1884...	740.5	667.7	456.3	31.15	190.3	41.61	28.44
1885...	742.2	577.5	386.7	33.28	178.1	45.86	30.59
1886...	679.5	635.4	413.8	33.83	189.4	45.55	30.13
1887...	716.2	692.3	450.3	34.11	214.2	47.10	31.02
1888...	695.9	723.9	464.1	34.27	216.0	45.63	29.99
1889...	742.4	745.1	484.8	34.61	220.6	45.13	29.50
1890...	857.8	789.3	507.6	34.39	226.5	44.41	29.12
1891...	884.5	844.9	466.4	45.41	216.9	46.28	25.25
1892...	1,030.3	827.4	369.4	42.18	177.9	48.16	21.50



## Values in 1889 and 1890.

TABLE B.—The following from the report of the Senate Finance Committee on retail prices and wages shows, in Column 1, the average cost of all articles in each month from June, 1889, to September, 1891; in the second column averages of all articles according to their importance in consumption for the same dates, and in the third column averages of all articles except butter, eggs, potatoes and vegetables, prices of which change with the season of the year, the remaining articles being taken according to their relative importance.

	1	2	3		1	2	3
June, 1889..	\$100 22	\$100 03	\$99 99	Aug., 1890..	\$99 88	\$100 32	\$99 47
July.....	100 10	100 03	100 04	September..	99 94	100 71	99 53
August....	99 89	99 92	100 01	October ....	100 10	101 15	99 71
September..	99 86	99 99	99 96	November..	100 35	101 74	99 99
October....	100 07	100 69	99 97	December..	100 84	102 59	100 16
November..	100 23	101 03	99 96	Jan., 1891..	101 15	103 11	100 29
December..	100 48	101 60	100 05	February...	101 27	103 30	100 38
Jan., 1890..	100 69	101 77	100 07	March.....	101 28	103 29	100 46
February..	100 01	101 90	100 10	April.....	101 46	102 99	99 91
March.....	100 98	101 72	100 15	May.....	100 99	102 24	99 61
April.....	100 76	101 24	100 02	June.....	100 38	101 23	99 32
May.....	100 66	100 72	99 73	July.....	99 95	100 48	99 03
June.....	100 34	99 87	99 53	August.....	99 36	99 50	98 90
July.....	100 15	100 40	99 56	September..	99 36	99 56	98 92

## Wages of Farm Laborers.

	1892.	1890.	1888.	1885.	1882.	1879.
Eastern States....	\$26 46	\$26 64	\$26 03	\$25 30	\$26 55	\$21 36
Middle States....	23 83	23 62	23 11	23 19	23 21	20 24
Southern States...	14 86	14 77	14 54	14 27	14 67	12 65
Western States....	22 61	22 01	22 23	22 27	23 26	19 81
Mountain States..	32 16	31 94	33 37	30 24	36 50	
Pacific States....	36 15	34 87	36 73	37 78	37 22	40 11
Average.....	\$18 60	\$18 34	\$18 24	\$18 06	\$18 58	\$16 05

## Tin Plates Imported.

	Quantity, lbs.	Value.
1877.....	222,307,980	\$9,818,069 69
1878.....	242,646,871	9,893,639 61
1879.....	278,544,822	10,248,720 34
1880.....	369,435,844	16,524,590 19
1881.....	377,072,728	14,641,057 87
1882.....	439,746,895	16,550,834 64
1883.....	453,724,126	16,688,276 67
1884.....	527,881,321	18,931,072 70
1885.....	505,559,076	16,610,104 56
1886.....	574,098,405	17,719,957 12
1887.....	570,643,389	16,883,813 95
1888.....	632,224,296	19,034,821 03
1889.....	727,945,972	21,002,209 15
1890.....	674,664,458	20,746,427 73
1891.....	1,057,711,501	36,355,579 79
1892.....	418,176,202	12,315,292 00

## Tin Plate and the New Duty.

MANUFACTURERS' WHOLESALE PRICES OF TINWARE, WITH OLD DUTY  
ON TIN PLATES, AND COST OF SAME IF WHOLE OF PRESENT IN-  
CREASED DUTY OF 1.2 CENTS PER POUND IS ADDED:

Articles.	Size.	Cost Per Dozen.	Cost Each, Old Duty.	Weight Each.	Cost with Increased Duty, 1.2 Cents per lb. Added.	Retail Prices of Same, Each.
			Cts.	lb. oz.	Cts.	Cts.
Coffee-pots, hinged covers..	3 quarts.....	\$1 00	9.1	1 4	10.6	25
Buckets, covered.....	do .....	75	6.2	14	7.5	15
Cups.....	½ pint.....	12½	1	2½	1.4	5
do.....	1 pint.....	18¾	1½	3½	1.8	5
Dish-pans..	12 quarts....	1 42	12	1 8	13.8	35
Dish-kettles.....	10 quarts....	1 23	10	1 8	11.8	30
Milk-kettles, improved side handles.....	4 quarts.....	1 75	15	1 8	16.8	30
Dinner-kettles, trays and cups....	3 quarts.....	1 44	12	1 4	13.5	50
do.....	4 quarts.....	1 80	15	2 4	17.4	60
Square dinner-kettles, tray, flask and cup..	No. 1. ....	3 30	27	2 12	30.3	50
do.....	No. 2....	3 75	31	3 4	34.9	60
Tea-kettles, straight..	3 quarts.....	1 40	12	1 8	13.8	40
Oil-cans, improved..	2 quarts.....	1 60	8.3	1 8	9.5	15
Lard cans, improved..	5 gls.(40 lbs.)	2 25	19	3 0	23.6	25
Dairy-pans, IC.....	4 quarts.....	42	3½	8	4.1	15
Milk-pans, IX.....	do .....	55	4½	10	5.2	20
Pudding-pans, IC, retinned.....	do .....	75	6¼	8	6.9	20
Rinsing-pans, IC, retinned .....	10 quarts....	1 60	12½	1 4	14	25
Dish-pans, IX, deep, retinned.....	14 quarts....	2 10	17	2 0	19.4	40
Sauce-pans, retinned..	4 quarts.....	1 15	9½	12	10.4	20
Wash-bowls.....	No. 7, 11½ in.	44	3½	8	4.1	10
Dippers, IC.....	1 pint.....	25	2	4	2.3	10
Pie-plates... ..	9-inch.....	20	1½	3	1.7	*4
Sprinklers.....	10 quarts...	4 50	38	2 8	41	65

\*35 cents per dozen.

## Prices of Cotton Bagging—in Cents per Lb.

	1890.			1891.		
	1¾ lbs.	2 lbs.	2¼ lbs.	1¾ lbs.	2 lbs.	2¼ lbs.
January.....	7¼	8	8¾	6	6¾	7¼
February.....	7¼	8	8¾	6	6¾	7¼
March.....	7	7¾	8½	5¾	6¼	6¾
April.....	6¾	7½	8¼	5¾	6¼	6¾
May.....	6¾	7½	8¼	5¾	6¼	6¾
June.....	6¾	7	6¾	5¾	6¼	6¾
July.....	5¾	6¼	6¾	6¼	7	7¾
August.....	6¼	6¾	7½	5¾	6¼	6¾
September.....	6	6¾	7½	5¾	6¼	6¾
October.....	6¼	7¼	8	5¾	6¼	6¾
November.....	6¼	7	7¾	5½	6	6½
December.....	6¼	7	7¾	5½	6	6½
January, '92.....				5½	6	6½
February.....				5½	6	6½

## Imports of Manufactures.

PROTECTION FOR AMERICAN MANUFACTURES—IT GIVES ADDITIONAL EMPLOYMENT TO AMERICAN LABOR AND INVESTMENT FOR AMERICAN CAPITAL.

If we consider the effect of the new tariff upon the leading articles of manufactures by comparing the imports of these articles during the fiscal years 1890 and 1892, it will appear there was a considerable decrease as follows:

Manufactures.	1890.	1892.	Decrease.
Wool.....	\$56,582,432	\$35,565,879	\$21,016,553
Cotton.....	29,918,055	28,323,725	1,594,330
Silk.....	38,686,374	31,172,894	7,513,480
Iron and Steel.....	41,679,501	28,423,883	13,255,618
Tobacco.....	4,105,262	2,828,851	1,276,411
Flax, Hemp, etc.....	28,421,279	26,285,217	2,136,062
Total.....	\$199,392,903	\$152,700,449	\$46,692,454

"It is proper to say in this relation that there has been an increase in the imports of wools, \$4,424,025; in lead and manufactures of lead, \$2,895,720; in metals, and metal compositions of, \$2,340,401; cement, \$1,682,620; earthen, stone and china-ware, \$1,677,162, and furs and manufactures of furs, \$2,643,359."

"I regard this statement as a complete refutation of the assertions and declarations of the free-traders in regard to the effect of the present tariff upon trade and commerce, as well as upon our domestic industries."

CHARLES FOSTER,  
Secretary of the Treasury.

August 25, 1892.

## The War Debt Reduced.

NEARLY TWO THOUSAND MILLION DOLLARS PAID TO THE NATION'S  
CREDITORS UNDER REPUBLICAN POLICY AND PLANS.

STATEMENT showing the annual requirements of the Sinking Fund, the amount of bonds and other securities applied thereto, the interest and premium paid thereon, and the total amount expended for the fund from April 1, 1869, to June 30, 1892:

Fiscal Year.	Annual Requirement.	Applications to the Fund.		
		Bonds and other Securities.	Interest and Premium Paid.	Total Amount Applied.
1869.....	\$6,725,809 63	\$8,691,000 00	\$1,511,243 23	\$10,202,243 23
1870.....	27,660,879 14	28,151,900 00	4,098,057 22	32,249,957 22
1871.....	28,574,562 78	29,936,250 00	2,910,413 73	32,846,663 73
1872.....	29,598,187 82	32,618,450 00	4,365,958 72	36,984,408 72
1873.....	30,222,250 79	28,678,000 00	4,063,643 62	32,741,643 62
1874.....	30,852,447 93	12,936,450 00	1,617,659 83	14,554,109 83
1875.....	31,519,501 18	25,170,400 00	353,061 56	25,523,461 56
1876.....	33,584,775 82	32,183,488 09	257,517 91	32,441,006 00
1877.....	33,729,833 20	24,498,910 05	5,776 52	24,504,686 57
1878.....	35,429,001 80	17,012,634 57	809 92	17,013,444 49
1879.....	36,955,604 63	723,662 99	308 77	723,971 76
1880.....	40,135,450 00	73,904,617 41	3,731,272 02	77,635,889 43
1881.....	42,737,616 13	74,480,251 05	1,768,670 39	76,249,021 44
1882.....	44,905,330 76	60,137,855 55	612,039 53	60,749,895 08
1883.....	45,389,026 00	44,897,256 96	329,761 48	45,227,018 44
1884.....	46,486,536 04	46,790,229 50	318,879 93	47,109,109 43
1885.....	47,393,186 83	45,604,035 43	271,667 32	45,875,702 75
1886.....	44,872,710 64	44,551,043 36	242,487 45	44,793,530 81
1887.....	46,537,849 00	47,903,248 15	232,083 42	48,135,331 57
1888.....	46,818,149 18	43,732,550 00	3,085,592 98	46,818,142 98
1889.....	47,804,172 99	39,066,173 35	8,737,953 04	47,804,126 39
1890.....	48,321,127 76	39,847,839 50	8,473,506 06	48,321,345 56
1891.....	49,077,301 37	44,006,111 37	5,070,950 22	49,077,061 59
1892.....	49,063,114 32	37,574,179 98	181,109 02	37,755,289 00
Totals..	\$924,394,426 34	\$883,096,637 31	\$52,240,423 89	\$935,337,061 20

The total debt of the United States, less cash in the Treasury, at its maximum point, August 31, 1865,  
was .....\$2,756,431,571 43  
On June 30, 1892, it was..... 841,526,463 60

Making a reduction of the debt, less cash in the Treasury, of.....\$1,914,905,107 83

Or **\$990,510,681.49** more than the requirements of the Sinking Fund called for.



## Wages Here and in England.

AN OBJECT LESSON FOR THE AMERICAN WORKINGMAN—PROTECTION  
VS. FREE TRADE.

A table showing rates of wages paid in the United States and Great Britain:

Occupations.	Wages in the U. S.	Wages in Gr. Br.	Difference in favor U. S.
1 Boots and shoes.....	\$2 31	\$ 85	\$1 46
2 Cotton Goods Printers.....	4 67	2 01	2 66
3 Carpet Weavers.....	2 00	1 21	1 79
4 Cup Makers.....	3 28	1 60	1 68
5 Dyers.....	2 25	83	1 42
6 Designers.....	4 12	2 00	2 12
7 Dish Makers.....	3 24	1 60	1 64
8 Fullers.....	1 50	98	52
9 Hat Makers.....	1 77	1 05	72
10 Hollow Ware Makers.....	2 99	1 35	1 64
11 Laborer.....	1 30	64	66
12 Mechanics.....	2 31	1 16	1 15
13 Printers.....	2 26	1 09	1 17
14 Pattern Makers.....	2 57	1 24	1 33
15 Rolling Mill Hands.....	3 44	1 21	2 23
16 Spinners.....	1 73	1 17	56
17 Turners in Wood.....	2 83	1 33	1 50
18 Tanners.....	2 46	1 22	1 24
19 Weavers.....	1 67	89	78
Averages.....	\$2 56	\$1 23	\$1 33

American workingmen receive per day.....	\$2 56
Great Britain's workingmen receive per day.....	1 23
Difference in favor of American workingmen.....	\$1 33

Annual difference in favor of the American Workingman for  
313 working days..... \$416 29

## Wages Here and Abroad.

Occupation.	Wages paid in U. S.	Wages paid in Great Britain.	Wages paid on the Continent of Europe.	Difference in favor of the U. S., and against Great Britain.	Difference in favor of the U. S. and against the Continent of Europe.
1 Blacksmiths .....	\$2 63	\$ 77	\$ 72	\$1 85	\$1 90
2 Boilermakers.....	2 33	1 06	1 00	1 27	1 33
3 Bricklayers.....	3 52	1 26	1 20	2 26	2 32
4 Carpenters.....	2 33	89	66	1 44	1 67
5 Engineers.....	2 55	67	68	1 88	1 87
6 Firemen .....	1 66	81	59	85	1 07
7 Gasmakers.....	1 94	61	53	1 33	1 41
8 Laborers.....	1 38	65	51	73	87
9 Machinists.....	2 45	1 19	71	1 26	1 74
10 Masons.....	3 28	75	68	2 53	2 60
11 Moulders.....	1 70	66	71	1 04	99
12 Watchmen.....	1 54	70	53	84	1 03
Average of averages....	\$2 27½	83¼	70½	1 44	1 56½

\* The figures for this table are rates of wages *per day*.

Average earnings of American workmen on above 12 occupations, \$2.27½ per day, would make, on 313 days \$712 07½  
 For workmen in Great Britain for the same time and occupations, .83¼ per day..... 261 35½

Difference in favor of the American workman.. \$450 72½

American workman earns..... \$712 07½  
 Workman on Continent of Europe earns, for same time and occupation..... 221 96½

Difference in favor of American workman..... \$490 10½

## Wages in Different States.

A table showing that *Republican States* pay better wages than *Democratic States*. Why? Because *Republican States* are in favor of protection, are more intelligent, and therefore more prosperous. See the *proof* in figures:

Occupations.	Wages in Republican States.	Wages in Democratic States.	Difference in Favor of Republican States.
Blacksmiths...	\$2 75	\$1 67	\$1 08
Boiler-makers..	2 50	1 75	75
Bricklayers....	3 55	3 00	55
Carpenters....	2 50	1 75	75
Engineers. ....	2 60	1 86	74
Firemen.....	1 81	1 38	43
Gas-makers....	1 95	1 50	45
Laborers.....	1 45	99¼	45¼
Masons.....	3 55	3 00	55
Mechanics.....	2 60	1 75	85
Moulders.....	1 85	1 65	20
*Averages.....	\$2 46	\$1 84	61

\*Fractions not included.

Average rate of wages in Republican States.....\$2 46  
 Average rate of wages in Democratic States..... 1 84

Average rate of wages in favor of Republican States..... 61

Annual difference in favor of Republican States .....\$190 93

## Rates of Agricultural Wages.

A table showing the rates of wages paid in Republican and Democratic States for 1891-92. These do not include "Harvest" wages, which are much higher.

Republican States.	Rates per Month.	Rates per Day.	Democratic States.	Rates per Month.	Rates per Day.
1 Maine .....	\$24 50	\$1 28	1 N. Jersey..	\$25 50	\$1 24
2 N. H. ....	25 00	1 28	2 Delaware..	18 75	80
3 Vermont....	24 67	1 23	3 Maryland..	17 50	85
4 Mass.....	29 70	1 42	4 Virginia...	15 50	72
5 R. I.....	29 00	1 42	5 West Va...	19 50	90
6 Conn. ....	27 38	1 38	6 N. C.....	13 30	63
7 New York..	24 55	1 22	7 S. C.....	12 50	62
8 Pa.....	23 00	1 10	8 Georgia....	13 50	72
9 Ohio.....	22 63	1 10	9 Florida....	18 67	96
10 Mich.....	24 00	1 20	10 Alabama..	13 75	72
11 Indiana....	22 75	1 06	11 Miss .....	15 40	80
12 Illinois. .	24 25	1 14	12 La .....	16 25	87
13 Wisconsin..	25 25	1 30	13 Texas.....	18 75	98
14 Minn.....	26 00	1 40	14 Mo. ....	20 50	93
15 Iowa.....	26 20	1 25	15 Arkansas..	17 30	87
16 Kansas....	24 20	1 15	16 Tennessee..	14 50	71
17 Nebraska...	25 75	1 26	17 Kentucky .	17 50	85
18 No. Dakota.	30 00	1 60			
19 So. Dakota.	27 00	1 45			
20 Montana...	35 00	1 65			
21 Wyoming..	34 00	1 55			
22 Colorado...	33 00	1 50			
23 Idaho.....	35 50	1 60			
24 Wash'gt'n..	37 50	1 70			
25 Oregon.....	34 25	1 55			
26 Nevada.....	36 00	1 60			
27 California..	36 50	1 60			
Averages..	\$28 42	\$1 37	Averages..	\$16 98	83

Average rates of wages paid for farm labor, Republican States, monthly ..... \$28 42

Average rates of wages paid for farm labor, Democratic States, monthly..... 16 98

Difference in favor of Republican States ..... 11 44

Annual difference in favor of Republican States..... \$137 28

Average rate of wages paid for labor on farms *per day* in Republican States..... \$1 37

Average rate of wages paid for labor on farms *per day* in Democratic States..... 83

Difference in favor of Republican States, per day..... 54

Annual difference in favor of Republican States (313 working days)..... \$169 02

## Wages in 1889-'90-'91.

	June, 1889.	June, 1890.	June, 1891.	Sept., 1891.
Bakers.....	\$100 00	\$100 30	\$99 90	\$100 00
Blacksmiths.....	99 98	100 28	100 63	100 63
Bricklayers.....	100 15	100 55	101 11	101 02
Cabinet Makers.....	100 00	100 22	100 26	100 26
Carpenters.....	100 00	101 02	100 94	100 91
Common Laborers.....	100 00	100 61	100 23	100 22
Farm Laborers.....	100 00	100 20	100 17	99 81
Machinists.....	100 00	100 15	100 71	100 75
Masons.....	100 13	101 55	100 99	100 99
Molders, iron.....	100 00	100 55	100 79	100 79
Painters.....	99 95	99 86	100 20	100 16
Plumbers.....	100 00	101 41	102 97	102 97
Stonecutters.....	99 95	101 34	101 53	101 51
Tailors.....	100 00	100 33	100 81	100 83
Tinsmiths.....	100 00	99 44	100 43	100 43
Average (15).....	\$100 01	\$100 52	\$100 78	\$100 75
Bar Iron.....	\$100 00	\$100 00	\$99 68	\$99 68
Boots and Shoes.....	99 07	99 23	98 58	99 99
Cotton Goods.....	99 98	100 48	100 44	100 44
Cotton and Woolen.....	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00
Crucible Steel.....	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00
Flint Glass.....	100 00	100 00	112 16	100 00
Green Glass.....	100 00	100 00	99 74	99 74
Lumber.....	100 00	95 00	95 00	95 00
Machinery.....	100 00	100 00	100 16	100 16
Pig Iron.....	100 02	103 69	101 83	103 90
Steel Ingots.....	100 00	101 58	98 06	97 65
Steel Blooms.....	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00
Window Glass.....	100 00	100 00	100 74	101 17
Woolen Goods.....	100 00	100 00	105 07	107 01
Average (14).....	\$99 93	\$99 99	\$100 82	\$100 34



# Six Millions More Wages—Thirty-one Millions More Production.

TABLE SHOWING INCREASES AND DECREASES OF WAGES AND AMOUNT OF PRODUCTION, IN AND FOR THE STATE OF NEW YORK, 1891 OVER 1890.

[From the Ninth Annual Report of the Hon. Charles F. Peck (Democrat), Commissioner of the Bureau of Labor Statistics.]

Industries.	Increases.		Decreases.	
	Wages.	Product.	Wages.	Product.
Agricultural implements .....	\$63,017 95	\$330,828 85	\$398,869 41	\$1,948,703 88
Arms and ammunition .....	1,363 00	1,143 00	.....	.....
Artificial teeth .....	48,464 25	.....	.....	61,562 45
Artisans' tools .....	.....	.....	11,000 95	25,085 28
Awnings, flags, sails, tents, etc .....	252,796 83	425,609 20	.....	.....
Boots and shoes .....	.....	.....	101,597 36	93,946 32
Brick, tile and sewer pipe .....	30,563 83	49,444 54	.....	.....
Brooms and brushes .....	.....	.....	96,839 15	172,384 43
Building .....	2,477 46	348,772 35	.....	.....
Burial cases, caskets, coffins, etc .....	240,143 29	1,881,738 83	.....	.....
Carpeting .....	73,759 67	.....	.....	270,303 50
Carriages, wagons, etc .....	53,119 98	219,124 66	.....	.....
Cement, lime, plaster, etc .....	44,541 89	.....	.....	168,381 42
Chemicals, acids, etc .....	.....	.....	24,089 71	351,771 17
Clocks, watches, etc .....	2,705,202 21	7,566,390 27	.....	.....
Clothing .....	210,311 56	164,789 33	.....	.....
Cooking and heating apparatus .....	24,572 28	107,249 90	.....	.....
Cordage and twine .....	21,101 33	48,723 79	.....	.....
Corks, cork soles, etc .....	.....	.....	.....	.....

Crayons and pencils .....	33,765 05	89,822 51	.....
Drugs and medicines.....	37,563 48	439,831 37	.....
Dye stuffs and chemicals.....		143,128 71	.....
Earthen and stoneware.....	44,525 20	556,662 11	.....
Electrical apparatus and appliances.....	5,088 14	35,573 03	.....
Emery ore.....			.....
Fancy articles.....	34,778 99		800 00
Fertilizers.....		68,688 23	.....
Fire-works and matches.....	9,078 77	201,115 54	51,033 77
Flax, hemp and jute goods.....		29,898 23	.....
Food preparations.....		27,726 00	4,168 07
Furniture.....	190,523 61	2,017,880 69	.....
Gas lighting.....	157,937 44	1,501,367 05	.....
Glass.....	1,116 65	51,888 04	.....
Gloves, mittens, etc.....	315,680 56	544,193 16	.....
Glue, wax and starch.....	130,122 68	598,623 51	.....
Hair work (animal and human).....	540 00	342,598 14	8,292 04
Ink, mucilage and paste.....		4,640 00	.....
Ivory, bone, shell, horn goods, etc.....			8,252 10
Leather and leather goods.....	78,361 61	169,530 32	11,672 40
Linen.....	550 00	369,251 59	.....
Liquors and beverages (not spirituous).....		5,000 00	.....
Liquors, malt, distilled and fermented.....	104,458 15	2,305,498 44	49,424 14
Lumber.....			107,421 80
Machines and machinery.....	374,094 55		.....
Metals and metallic goods.....	518,026 98	3,379,615 46	.....
Molds, lasts and patterns.....			.....
Musical instruments and materials.....	118,467 99	15,147 20	.....
Oils and illuminating fluids.....	22,191 05	2,781,478 18	.....
Paints, colors and crude materials.....		1,113,971 91	7,182 11
Paper and paper goods.....	521,817 19	126,109 50	.....
Perfumes, toilet articles, etc.....		330,377 80	10,360 73
Photographs and photographic materials.....	24,113 69		.....
Polishes and dressing.....	38,070 02	101,225 99	.....
Printing, publishing and bookbinding.....	103,843 14	781,990 01	.....
Railroad equipment.....	136,790 17	1,459,343 66	.....

TABLE SHOWING INCREASES AND DECREASES OF WAGES AND AMOUNT OF PRODUCTION, IN AND FOR THE STATE OF NEW YORK, 1891 OVER 1880—(Continued).

Industries.	Increases.		Decreases.	
	Wages,	Product.	Wages.	Product.
Rubber and elastic goods.....	\$18,442 53	\$159,490 81	.....	.....
Salt.....	74,430 01	248,654 37	.....	.....
Scientific instruments and appliances.....	70,166 48	79,595 30	.....	.....
Shipbuilding.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Sporting and athletic goods.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Stone, marble, etc.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Tallow candles, soap and grease.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Toys and games (children's).....	1,545 00	1,629 70	.....	.....
Tobacco, cigars, cigarettes, etc.....	447,147 68	4,379,050 28	.....	.....
Trunks and valises.....	9,160 69	.....	.....	.....
Whips, lashes and stocks.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wooden goods.....	177,933 34	758,791 01	.....	.....
Totals.....	\$7,571,666 37	\$37,342,227 83	\$1,193,741 28	\$5,927,097 15
Net.....	\$6,377,925 09	\$31,315,130 68	.....	.....

NOTE.—It is needless to comment upon the separate figures or the totals included in the above table; they tell their own story simply and with absolute truth. It appears that there was a net increase in wages of **\$6,377,925.09** in the year 1891, as compared with the amount paid in 1890, and a net increase of production of **\$31,315,130.68** in the year 1891 over that of 1890. A simple analysis of this table further demonstrates the interesting fact that, of the sixty-seven industries covered, seventy-seven per cent. of them show an increase either of the wages or product or both, and that there were no less than 89,717 instances of individual increases of wages during the same year.

## Figures From Peck's Report.

A COMPARATIVE TABLE SHOWING THE INCREASES AND DECREASES OF  
THE AVERAGE YEARLY EARNINGS OF EMPLOYEES, IN AND OF THE  
STATE OF NEW YORK, IN THE YEAR 1891 OVER 1890.

[From the Ninth Annual Report of the Hon. Charles F. Peck (Democrat), Commissioner of the Bureau of Labor Statistics].

	Industries.	Average Yearly Earnings.		Increase or Decrease.	
		1890.	1891.	Increase.	Decrease.
44	Agricultural implements.....	\$654 30	\$646 16	.....	\$8 14
8	Arms and ammunition .....	492 42	468 02	.....	24 40
2	Artificial teeth.....	192 00	254 45	\$62 45	
43	Artisans' tools.....	456 96	479 65	22 69	
30	Awnings, flags, tents, sails, etc.....	451 15	482 97	31 82	
143	Boots and shoes.....	423 24	438 17	14 93	
95	Brick, tile and sewer pipe.....	286 82	302 71	15 89	
56	Brooms and brushes.....	286 86	312 70	25 84	
136	Building.....	474 28	465 45	.....	8 83
10	Burial cases, caskets, coffins, etc.....	452 45	494 75	42 30	
22	Carpetings.....	389 50	405 42	15 92	
180	Carriages, wagons, etc.....	498 31	504 28	5 97	
22	Cement, lime, plaster, etc.....	467 28	495 12	27 84	
25	Chemicals, acids, etc.....	476 37	553 85	77 48	
11	Clocks, watches, etc.....	505 81	514 99	9 18	
890	Clothing.....	355 67	371 00	15 33	
47	Cooking and heating apparatus.....	506 48	596 90	90 42	
7	Cordage, rope, twine, etc.....	335 97	338 03	2 06	
3	Corks, cork soles, etc.....	334 65	336 42	1 77	
4	Crayons and pencils.....	359 80	341 38	.....	18 42
35	Drugs and medicines.....	404 16	463 79	59 63	
13	Dye stuffs and chemicals.....	559 05	545 36	.....	13 69
14	Earthen and stoneware.....	383 25	422 82	39 57	
9	Electrical apparatus, appliances, etc.....	458 54	412 75	.....	45 79
10	Electric and gas lighting.....	588 19	607 40	19 21	
1	Emery ore.....	493 75	393 75	.....	100 00
16	Fancy articles.....	388 52	442 85	54 33	
8	Fertilizers.....	322 52	183 03	.....	139 40
6	Fire-works, matches and sulphur....	313 42	374 17	60 75	
2	Flax and hemp goods.....	314 01	299 94	.....	14 07
234	Food preparations.....	327 99	341 83	13 84	
227	Furniture.....	468 09	482 11	14 02	
19	Gas lighting.....	573 89	665 72	91 83	
26	Glass.....	481 07	519 19	38 12	
79	Gloves, mittens, etc.....	280 99	291 47	10 48	
9	Glue, starch and wax.....	559 20	556 22	.....	2 98
2	Hair work (animal and human).....	362 06	501 81	139 75	
13	Ink, mucilage, paste and blueing....	610 92	577 25	.....	33 67
18	Ivory, bone, shell, horn goods, etc....	589 99	536 98	.....	53 01
145	Leather and leather goods.....	443 28	455 71	12 43	
1	Linen, etc.....	365 00	420 00	55 00	
20	Liquors and beverages (not spiritu- ous).....	677 16	710 96	33 80	
66	Liquors, malt, distilled and fermented	738 64	777 07	38 43	
142	Lumber.....	402 46	420 40	17 94	
126	Machines and machinery.....	533 95	594 06	60 11	
649	Metals and metallic goods.....	504 87	539 71	34 84	
12	Molds, lasts and patterns.....	608 99	543 32	.....	65 67
44	Musical instruments and materials...	602 33	632 67	30 34	
9	Oils and illuminating fluids.....	504 58	574 09	69 51	
52	Paints, colors, varnishes, etc.....	526 37	614 62	88 25	
224	Paper and paper goods.....	384 30	434 57	50 27	
15	Perfumes, toilet articles, etc.....	459 72	479 50	19 78	
11	Photographs and photographic ma- terials.....	442 01	502 05	60 04	
10	Polishes, blacking, etc.....	476 05	556 49	80 44	



FIGURES FROM PECK'S REPORT—(Continued).

	Industries.	Average Yearly Earnings.		Increase or Decrease.	
		1890.	1891.	Increase.	Decrease.
131	Printing and publishing...	521 99	550 17	28 18	
14	Railway cars and equipments.....	527 87	633 06	105 19	
17	Rubber goods.....	398 68	408 64	9 96	
20	Salt.....	349 72	448 65	98 93	
39	Scientific instruments and appliances	482 62	472 87	.....	9 75
9	Ship and boat building.....	740 16	839 02	98 86	
8	Sporting and athletic goods.....	334 34	241 59	.....	92 75
29	Stone, marble, granite, etc.....	405 01	394 89	.....	10 12
48	Tallow candles, soap grease, etc.....	479 12	490 16	11 04	
646	Tobacco, snuff, cigars, etc.....	395 16	424 05	28 89	
8	Toys.....	242 62	213 12	.....	29 50
16	Trunks and valises.....	472 91	531 44	58 53	
80	Whips, canes, umbrellas, etc.....	425 31	459 86	34 55	
75	Wooden goods.....	413 38	526 93	113 55	

NOTE.—The figures included in the above table seem to be, and they are, in strict harmony with the facts established by Table No. 1. Of the sixth-eight industries included, seventy-five per cent. of them show an increased average yearly earning in the year 1891, while the total average increase of yearly earnings of the two-hundred and eighty-five thousand employees was \$23.11. The average increase of yearly earnings of the employees in the fifty-one trades showing an increase was \$43.96 in 1891 as compared with 1890.

In addition to the investigation of this special subject, the Bureau has continued its annual investigation of all labor disturbances occurring in the State during the past year. The total number of strikes reported for the year 1891 was 4,519 as against 6,258 occurring in the year 1890—a decrease of 1,740. Of the total number—4,519—2,375, or fifty-three per cent. of them, were in the building trades, a fact that seems to follow in natural sequence the results obtained in the special investigation of the “Effect of the Tariff on Labor and Wages.”

## Money Deposited in Savings Banks.

A table showing the the savings of labor, by contrast, in Republican and Democratic States—1890-1891 :

Republican States.	Amount of Deposits.	Average to each Depositor.	Democratic States.	Amount of Deposits.	Average to each Depositor.
1 Maine..	\$47,781,166	\$340 02	1 N. J....	\$32,462,603	\$259 55
2 N. H....	69,531,024	418 19	2 Del....	3,602,469	215 05
3 Vt.....	21,620,303	297 38	3 Md.....	38,916,597	288 26
4 Mass....	353,592,937	326 24	4 W. Va..	375,440	37 94
5 R. I....	63,719,491	483 99	5 N. C....	264,348	45 31
6 Conn...	116,406,675	380 58	6 S. C....	3,286,155	187 84
7 N. Y....	574,669,972	388 86	7 Ga.....	477,487	188 50
8 Pa.....	62,150,893	263 00	8 Fla....	181,630	168 49
9 Ohlo...	31,258,086	396 24	9 Ala....	65,816	37 18
10 Ills....	16,362,304	267 78	10 Ia.....	1,420,798	325 42
11 Mich....	29,887,761	198 82	11 Texas..	384,183	89 16
12 Wis....	94,687	130 42	12 Tenn..	1,445,834	129 44
13 Iowa...	20,821,495	364 35	13 Ind...	3,552,099	238 65
14 Minn..	7,688,677	352 95	14 N. M.†	165,426	155 76
15 Neb....	3,508,751	130 45	15 Utah†.	1,682,040	210 41
16 Cal.....	114,164,523	836 39			
17 Mont.*.	344,599	106 59	Total...	\$88,282,925	\$245 79
18 Wash..	834,815	121 87			
Total...	\$1,534,438,157	\$368 23			

\* For 1889-90.

† Territories.

Saving Bank Deposits—Republican States.....\$1,534,438,157  
 Saving Bank Deposits—Democratic States.....88,282,925

Difference in favor of Republican States.....\$1,446,155,232

## Money Capital in Banks By States.

A table showing that population, wealth and prosperity are in the *Republican States*, June, 1891.

Republican States.	Population.	Capital in Bank.	Democratic States.	Population.	Capital in Bank.
1 Maine	663,000	\$81,253,068	1 N. J.	1,484,000	\$119,766,779
2 N. H.	379,000	96,225,832	2 Del....	170,000	14,886,050
3 Vt.....	333,000	40,981,914	3 Md....	1,048,000	101,096,200
4 Mass..	2,299,000	742,651,224	4 Va....	1,670,000	42,131,055
5 R. I...	352,000	127,126,389	5 W. Va	773,000	14,113,894
6 Conn..	764,000	199,953,331	6 N. C...	1,638,000	10,602,746
7 N. Y..	6,110,000	1,663,604,173	7 S. C...	1,165,000	14,556,233
8 Pa.....	5,382,000	546,267,053	8 Ga....	1,867,000	22,682,049
9 Ohio .	3,720,000	220,297,991	9 Fla....	405,000	8,485,786
10 Ill.....	3,899,000	271,513,188	10 Ala...	1,538,000	14,900,568
11 Mich..	2,139,000	124,232,290	11 Miss..	1,309,000	11,754,338
12 Wis...	1,728,000	91,828,490	12 La...	1,137,000	35,138,019
13 Iowa..	1,935,000	111,981,211	13 Texas	2,304,000	65,070,737
14 Minn..	1,360,000	102,482,170	14 Ark...	1,161,000	7,607,971
15 Kan...	1,448,000	53,896,588	15 Ky....	1,870,000	86,078,682
16 Neb...	1,148,000	68,533,620	16 Tenn..	1,773,000	42,603,237
17 Col....	440,000	60,480,478	17 Ind...	2,213,000	71,753,885
18 Nev...	44,000	1,176,791	18 Mo....	2,734,000	164,047,645
19 Cal....	1,244,000	271,189,235	<div style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; height: 100px; margin: 0 auto; width: 100%;"></div>		
20 Ore. .	333,000	17,878,204			
21 N. D...	193,000	8,985,308			
22 S. D...	341,000	11,669,101			
23 Idaho.	93,000	2,588,258			
24 Mont.	145,000	20,277,490			
25 Wash.	375,000	27,859,317			
26 Wyo...	66,000	5,373,750			
Total...	36,933,000	\$4,951,206,464	Total...	26,259,000	\$847,275,874

Population in Republican States..... 36,933,000  
Population in Democratic States..... 26,259,000

Difference in favor of Republican States..... 10,674,000 !

Capital in bank—Republican States..... \$4,951,206,464  
Capital in bank—Democratic States..... 847,275,874

Difference in favor of Republican States... \$4,103,930,590 !

## Protection Pays—Free Trade Does Not.

A table showing that the volume of business is done in the  
*Republican States.*

Drafts Drawn On Reporting Banks.

Republican States.	Amount Drawn.	Democratic States.	Amount Drawn.
1 Maine .....	\$176,479,284	1 New Jersey.....	\$540,605,942
2 N. H. ....	141,525,565	2 Delaware .....	40,761,234
3 Vermont .....	103,244,799	3 Maryland .....	296,966,976
4 Mass .....	1,647,658,703	4 Virginia .....	118,001,654
5 R. I. ....	326,295,972	5 West Va. ....	34,414,274
6 Conn.....	428,790,755	6 No. Carolina....	47,131,898
7 New York.....	967,584,963	7 So. Carolina....	42,705,672
8 Pa.....	1,277,263,733	8 Georgia.....	88,208,733
9 Ohio.....	833,471,368	9 Florida.....	43,546,212
10 Indiana.....	221,086,925	10 Alabama.....	65,046,139
11 Illinois.....	1,410,349,266	11 Miss.....	29,079,559
12 Mich.....	369,686,997	12 La.....	134,919,339
13 Wis.....	187,850,498	13 Texas.....	347,699,375
14 Iowa.....	315,345,151	14 Mo.....	635,857,962
15 Minn.....	328,865,169	15 Arkansas .....	27,905,777
16 Kansas.....	159,419,341	16 Kentucky.....	138,148,783
17 Nebraska.....	381,159,666	17 Tennessee.....	152,719,395
18 Colorado.....	176,871,574		
19 Nevada.....	2,237,907		
20 California.....	124,474,265		
21 Oregon.....	70,335,904		
22 No. Dakota.....	26,574,478		
23 So. Dakota.....	33,215,067		
24 Montana.....	65,765,034		
25 Washington..	94,194,996		
26 Wyoming..	11,891,088		
27 Idaho.....	10,735,684		
Total.....	\$9,892,374,152	Total.....	\$2,783,718,924

Volume of business in Republican States.....	\$9,892,374,152
Volume of business in Democratic States.....	2,783,718,924

Difference in Favor of Republican States.....	\$7,108,655,228
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## A Comparison of Prices.

VALUES OF ARTICLES IN COMMON AND NECESSARY USE DURING DIFFERENT PERIODS, SHOWING THE FALL OF PRICES UNDER PROTECTION.

Articles.		Prices under Dems. 1857 and prior.	Prices under Reps. 1889-1890.	Prices under Reps. 1891-1892. <i>After</i> McKinley Act.	Articles.		Prices under Dems. 1857 and prior.	Prices under Reps. 1889-1890.	Prices under Reps. 1891-1892. <i>After</i> McKinley Act.	Differences in favor of Protection and <i>Republican</i> policy.
1	Axe*.....	\$1 49	\$0 95	\$0 88	24	Overallst.....	\$1 20	\$0 83	\$0 70	*\$0 61
2	Blankets.....	6 85	4 23	3 70	25	Pins (paper).....	11	6	5	3 15
3	Blue shirting.....	17	11	9	26	Plow.....	20 12	14 37	12 90	8
4	Boots.....	4 75	3 27	2 78	27	Rake.....	61	34	26	1 97
5	Calico.....	14	7	6	28	Reaper and binder.....	85	36	115 96	8
6	Carpets (yd.).....	1 30	77	66	29	Rubber boots.....	4 83	3 10	2 73	64
7	Cotton hose.....	47	27	20	30	Salt (bbl.).....	2 30	1 75	1 38	27
8	Cotton knit goods.....	98	52	41	31	Shoes.....	5 84	3 45	3 06	57
9	Cotton thread.....	9	5	4	32	Sheeting (yd.).....	12	08	06	5
10	Crow-bar (pound).....	11	7	6	33	Shovels.....	1 47	97	80	5
11	Drawing chains.....	1 38	71	58	34	Spade.....	1 44	96	84	70
12	File.....	42	27	20	35	Sugar, gr.....	19	9	5	22
13	Forks.....	99	56	46	36	Sugar, br.....	16	8	4	53
14	Flannel (yd.).....	70	39	34	37	Scythe.....	1 22	85	68	36
15	Fruit cans (doz.).....	3 00	72	54	38	Tin dipper.....	25	12	10	2 46
16	Gingham (yd.).....	22	10	8	39	Tin milk pail.....	75	46	39	14



## Official Record of Circulation—All Kinds of Money Outside the Treasury.

	Circulation.	Population.	Cir. per Capita.
1860.....	\$435,407,252	31,443,321	\$13 85
1861.....	448,405,767	32,064,000	13 98
1862.....	334,697,774	32,704,000	10 23
1863.....	595,394,038	33,365,000	17 84
1864.....	669,641,478	34,046,000	19 67
1865.....	714,702,995	34,748,000	20 57
1866.....	673,488,244	35,469,000	18 99
1867.....	661,992,069	36,211,000	18 28
1868.....	680,103,661	36,973,000	18 39
1869.....	664,452,891	37,756,000	17 60
1870.....	675,212,794	38,588,371	17 50
1871.....	715,889,005	39,555,000	18 10
1872.....	738,309,549	40,596,000	18 19
1873.....	751,881,809	41,677,000	18 04
1874.....	776,083,031	42,796,000	18 13
1875.....	754,101,947	43,951,000	17 16
1876.....	727,609,388	45,137,000	16 12
1877.....	722,314,883	46,353,000	15 58
1878.....	729,132,634	47,598,000	15 32
1879.....	818,631,793	48,866,000	16 75
1880.....	973,382,228	50,155,782	19 41
1881.....	1,114,238,119	51,316,000	21 71
1882.....	1,174,290,419	52,495,000	22 37
1883.....	1,230,305,696	53,693,000	22 91
1884.....	1,243,925,969	54,911,000	22 65
1885.....	1,292,568,615	56,148,000	23 02
1886.....	1,252,700,525	57,404,000	21 82
1887.....	1,317,539,143	58,680,000	22 45
1888.....	1,372,170,870	59,974,000	22 88
1889.....	1,380,561,649	61,289,000	22 52
1890.....	1,429,251,270	62,622,250	22 82
1891.....	1,500,067,555	63,975,000	23 45
1892.....	1,603,073,338	65,520,000	24 47
1892, Sept. 1.....	1,599,256,584	65,756,000	24 32

## Average Price of Silver Bullion in London, in Pence, per Ounce.

	1878.	1879.	1880.	1881.	1882.	1883.	1884.
January.....	53.95	49.75	52.46	51.25	52.00	50.25	50.87
February.....	54.29	49.79	52.21	52.25	51.81	50.53	51.13
March.....	54.29	49.83	52.12	52.25	51.98	51.04	51.23
April.....	53.87	49.79	52.04	52.04	52.13	50.56	50.72
May.....	53.42	50.69	52.13	51.69	52.25	50.33	50.82
June.....	53.79	52.04	52.37	51.34	52.12	50.39	50.80
July.....	52.71	51.67	52.58	51.40	51.81	50.31	50.76
August.....	52.38	51.56	52.37	51.50	51.72	50.42	50.83
September.....	51.58	51.60	52.38	51.69	51.97	50.72	50.72
October.....	50.04	52.33	52.46	51.94	51.81	50.94	50.72
November.....	50.46	53.33	51.76	51.94	51.44	50.75	50.00
December.....	50.00	52.54	51.87	51.87	50.81	50.83	49.61
Average.....	52.56	51.20	52.25	51.76	51.82	50.59	50.68
	1885.	1886.	1887.	1888.	1889.	1890.	1891.
January.....	49.80	46.73	46.87	44.41	42.54	44.45	47.94
February.....	49.20	46.61	46.66	44.03	42.59	44.05	45.60
March.....	49.06	46.75	45.30	43.32	42.52	43.90	44.95
April.....	49.26	46.37	43.92	42.66	42.19	45.43	44.51
May.....	49.42	45.44	43.58	42.05	42.16	47.00	44.47
June.....	49.21	44.87	43.97	42.10	42.03	47.56	44.90
July.....	49.26	43.44	44.15	42.11	42.19	49.28	46.00
August.....	49.81	42.37	44.57	42.01	42.35	52.83	45.42
September.....	47.77	44.44	44.63	43.21	42.48	53.04	45.04
October.....	47.45	45.06	44.21	43.09	43.03	49.65	44.57
November.....	47.42	40.50	44.02	43.02	43.95	47.20	43.68
December.....	47.19	45.69	44.38	42.51	44.00	48.15	43.80
Average.....	48.66	45.37	44.69	42.88	42.67	47.71	45.08

January, 1892, 42.80; February, 41.50; March, 40.86; April, 39.72;  
May, 40.06; June, 40.58; July, 39.60; August, 38.11.



## The World's Stock of Gold and Silver—State- ment by the Director of the Mint.

	STOCK OF GOLD.	STOCK OF SILVER.	
		Full Legal Tender.	Total Silver.
United States .....	\$686,845,000	\$465,512,000	\$542,078,000
United Kingdom .....	550,000,000	.....	100,000,000
France .....	900,000,000	650,000,000	700,000,000
Germany .....	500,000,000	102,000,000	204,000,000
Belgium .....	65,000,000	48,400,000	55,000,000
Italy .....	140,000,000	25,800,000	60,000,000
Switzerland .....	15,000,000	11,400,000	15,000,000
Greece .....	2,000,000	1,800,000	4,000,000
Spain .....	100,000,000	90,000,000	125,000,000
Portugal .....	40,000,000	.....	10,000,000
Austria-Hungary .....	40,000,000	90,000,000	90,000,000
Netherlands .....	25,000,000	61,800,000	65,000,000
Scandinavian Union .....	32,000,000	.....	10,000,000
Russia .....	190,000,000	22,000,000	60,000,000
Turkey .....	50,000,000	.....	45,000,000
Australia .....	100,000,000	.....	7,000,000
Egypt .....	100,000,000	.....	15,000,000
Mexico .....	5,000,000	50,000,000	50,000,000
Central America .....	.....	500,000	500,000
South America .....	45,000,000	25,000,000	25,000,000
Japan .....	90,000,000	50,000,000	50,000,000
India .....	.....	900,000,000	900,000,000
China .....	.....	700,000,000	700,000,000
The Straits .....	.....	100,000,000	100,000,000
Canada .....	16,000,000	.....	5,000,000
Cuba, Hayti, etc....	20,000,000	1,200,000	2,000,000
Total .....	\$3,711,845,000	\$3,395,412,000	\$3,939,578,000

## Gold Value of U. S. Legal Tender Dollar Each Month and Each Year.

	1862.	1863.	1864.	1865.	1866.	1867.	1868.	1869.
January.....	97.6	68.9	64.3	46.3	71.4	74.3	72.2	73.7
February.....	96.6	63.3	61.1	48.7	72.3	72.8	70.7	74.4
March.....	98.2	64.7	61.4	57.5	76.6	74.1	71.7	76.2
April.....	98.5	66.0	57.9	67.3	78.6	73.7	72.1	75.2
May.....	96.8	67.2	56.7	73.7	75.9	73.0	71.6	71.8
June.....	93.9	69.2	47.5	71.4	67.2	72.7	71.4	72.4
July.....	86.6	76.6	38.7	70.4	66.0	71.7	70.1	73.5
August.....	87.3	79.5	39.4	69.7	67.2	71.0	68.7	74.5
September.....	84.4	74.5	44.9	69.5	68.7	69.7	69.6	73.1
October.....	77.8	67.7	43.3	63.7	67.4	69.7	72.9	76.8
November.....	76.3	67.6	42.8	68.0	69.5	71.6	74.4	79.2
December.....	75.6	66.2	44.0	68.4	73.2	74.2	74.0	82.3
Average.....	88.3	68.9	49.2	63.6	71.0	72.4	71.6	75.2

	1870.	1871.	1872.	1873.	1874.	1875.	1876.	1877.
January.....	82.4	90.3	91.7	88.7	89.7	88.9	88.6	94.1
February.....	83.7	89.7	90.7	87.6	89.1	87.3	88.2	95.0
March.....	88.8	90.1	90.8	86.6	89.2	86.6	87.4	95.4
April.....	88.4	90.4	90.0	84.9	88.2	87.1	88.3	94.1
May.....	87.2	89.7	88.0	85.0	89.9	86.3	88.7	93.9
June.....	88.6	89.0	87.8	85.8	90.0	85.4	89.4	94.8
July.....	85.6	89.0	87.5	86.4	91.0	87.2	89.5	94.7
August.....	84.8	89.0	87.4	86.7	91.2	88.1	90.2	95.7
September.....	87.1	87.3	88.1	88.7	91.2	86.4	91.1	96.6
October.....	88.7	88.3	88.3	91.8	91.0	85.8	90.1	97.2
November.....	89.8	89.9	88.6	92.1	90.2	86.7	91.6	97.2
December.....	90.3	91.5	89.1	90.9	89.6	87.8	92.5	97.3
Average.....	87.0	89.5	89.0	87.9	89.9	86.9	89.6	95.5

## Tables of Exports.

These tables are to be read in connection with the articles entitled "Protection and Exports" on page 138. They constitute a comprehensive comparison of the export of articles, the growth, production and manufacture of the United States, to all foreign countries from 1790 to 1890 inclusive, a period of 101 years. The leading articles are given by decades, stated as fully as the records of the Treasury Department will show.

The quantities of the articles exported will be a more accurate test of the capacity and industry of our people than can be had from their estimated money value; the same article in different years has varied more than 25 per cent in value.

Prior to 1803 no distinction was made between *domestic* and *foreign* exports. The value up to that time is given of those articles whose origin left no doubt of their domestic production.

The following table shows the total value of articles, the growth, production or manufacture of the United States, exported by decades, from 1790 to 1890 = 101 years, amount to \$21,692,739,844.

### TOTAL VALUE OF DOMESTIC EXPORTS—BY DECADES.

YEARS.	
1790-1800 (11 years).....	\$325,483,107
1801-1810.....	381,779,647
1811-1820.....	462,701,289
1821-1830.....	536,104,918
1831-1840.....	892,889,909
1841-1850.....	1,131,132,001
1851-1860.....	2,322,830,181
1861-1870.....	2,889,469,808
1871-1880.....	5,748,885,881
1881-1890.....	7,501,463,102
Total, 101 years.....	<u>\$21,692,739,844</u>
1790-1860 (71 years).....	\$6,052,921,053
1861-1890 (30 years).....	<u>15,639,818,791</u>

NOTE.—From the above it appears that for the thirty-one years ended 1820, we exported \$1,169,964,043; for the forty years ended 1860, there was exported \$4,882,957,010. The total exported for the seventy-one years, viz., 1790 to 1860, amounted to \$6,052,921,053; and from 1861 to 1890, thirty years, there was exported the sum of \$15,639,818,791, an increase over the last thirty years of \$10,746,861,781, and over the previous seventy-one years \$9,576,897,738, or over 150 per cent.

For the eighty-one years ended 1870, the total value exported was \$8,442,390,861, and for the twenty years ending 1890 amounted to \$13,250,348,983, an increase of \$4,807,958,122 or about 57 per cent.; the decade ending 1890 shows an increase of about 30 per cent.

Agricultural implements, consisting of farming mills, horse powers, mowers and reapers, plows, cultivators and other implements :

## AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS.

(First Enumerated in 1864.)

PERIOD.	VALUE.
1864-1870.....	\$7,095,309
1871-1880.....	22,746,048
1881-1890.....	29,899,358
Total, 27 years.....	<u>\$59,740,695</u>

### BOOKS, MAPS, ENGRAVINGS, ETCHINGS AND OTHER PRINTED MATTER.

YEARS.	VALUE.
1826-1830.....	\$211,303
1831-1840.....	390,433
1841-1850.....	592,252
1851-1860.....	2,196,149
1861-1870.....	8,211,479
1871-1880.....	5,942,625
1881-1890.....	13,538,298
Total, 65 years.....	<u>\$26,082,539</u>
Total, 1826-1860 (35 years).....	<u>\$3,390,137</u>
Total, 1861-1890 (30 years).....	<u>22,692,402</u>

NOTE.—The exportation from 1861-1890 exceeded the previous thirty-five years by \$19,302,265, or nearly 600 per cent. The decade ending 1890 exceeded the decade ending 1880 by \$7,595,673, or about 128 per cent.

### BREADSTUFFS OF ALL KINDS.

YEARS.	VALUE.
1821-1830.....	\$61,160,492
1831-1840.....	72,982,235
1841-1850.....	170,288,107
1851-1860.....	315,350,517
1861-1870.....	640,448,299
1871-1880.....	1,464,525,975
1881-1890.....	1,682,568,928
Total, 70 years.....	<u>\$4,407,324,553</u>
Total, 1821-1860 (40 years).....	<u>\$619,781,351</u>
Total, 1861-1890 (30 years).....	<u>3,787,543,202</u>
For year 1861.....	128,121,656
For year 1892.....	<u>299,363,117</u>

The above table of breadstuffs of all kinds shows that there was imported from the United States, during the forty years ending 1860, amounting to \$619,781,351, and for the thirty years ending with 1890, the enormous sum of \$3,787,543,202, or 511 per cent. The increase of the last decade, ending 1890, over the preceding decade is about 15 per cent.



# INDIAN CORN.

Years.	Bushels.	Values.	Value per Bushel.
			Cents.
1790-1800.....	16,546,965	0	0
1801-1810.....	11,789,969	0	0
1811-1820.....	11,970,380	0	0
1821-1830.....	7,045,060	\$3,894,645	55.2
1831-1840.....	3,753,919	2,677,815	71.3
1841-1850.....	47,296,262	33,033,522	69.8
1851-1860.....	51,503,092	37,501,880	72.8
1861-1870.....	100,611,081	82,055,006	81.6
1871-1880.....	536,434,697	321,335,194	59.9
1881-1890.....	572,569,569	303,031,013	52.9
Total, 101 years.....	1,359,520,994		
Total, 1790-1820 (31 yrs.)...	40,307,314		
Total, 1821-1860 (40 yrs.)...	109,598,333	\$77,107,862	70.3
Total, 1861-1890 (30 yrs.)...	1,209,615,347	706,421,213	58.4
Fiscal year 1891.....	20,768,213	17,652,687	
Fiscal year 1892.....	75,451,849	41,590,460	

The above table of corn shows we exported from 1790 to 1860 only 149,905,647 bushels; from 1861 to 1890 the large amount of 1,209,615,347 bushels; the year 1890 was the largest year of exportation, amounting to 101,973,717 bushels (the price being the lowest during the decade), about one-third less than for the 71 years, *i. e.*, from 1790 to 1860.

# CORN MEAL.

Years.	Barrels.	Values.	Value per Barrel.
1790-1800.....			
1801-1810.....			
1811-1820.....	993,046		
1821-1830.....	1,544,814	\$4,581,489	\$2 97
1831-1840.....	1,661,313	6,202,292	3 73
1841-1850.....	3,626,549	12,021,273	3 31
1851-1860.....	2,412,798	9,064,833	3 76
1861-1870.....	2,531,752	12,669,760	5 00
1871-1880.....	3,585,896	12,647,546	3 52
1881-1890.....	3,007,357	8,976,510	2 98
Total 80 years.....	19,363,535	0	0
Total 1821-1860 (40 years)...	9,245,474	\$31,869,887	\$3 45
" 1861-1890 (30 years)...	9,125,005	34,293,816	3 76

The above table of corn meal exhibits a slight decrease in quantity for the two periods; that is, 1811-1860 and 1861-1890, and small increase in value. The highest price occurred during the decade (war period) 1861-1870, of \$5 per barrel.

# WHEAT EXPORTED AND COMPETITION.

The countries from which the competition we are meeting are Russia, India, Australia and the Argentine Republic. The wheat exported is almost entirely to supply the European markets. There is little or no competition from those countries of wheat flour; exports of the latter have more than doubled during the last decade.

## WHEAT.

Period.	Bushels.	Value.	Value per Bushel.
1790-1800.....	5,383,743	0	0
1801-1810.....	3,418,741	0	0
1811-1820.....	1,026,572	\$1,833,249	\$1 79
1821-1830.....	198,424	181,732	92
1831-1840.....	2,456,986	2,554,432	1 04
1841-1850.....	13,131,506	15,641,878	1 19
1851-1860.....	55,255,528	75,028 680	1 36
1861-1870.....	220,115,995	295,938,699	1 34
1871-1880.....	667,435,801	830,177,921	1 24
1881-1890.....	833,548,148	832,636,590	1 00
Total 101 years.....	1,801,971,444	0	0
Total 1811-1860 (50 yrs.)....	72,069,016	\$95,239,941	\$1 32
" 1861-1890 (30 yrs.)....	1,721,199,944	1,958,753,010	1 14
Fiscal year 1891.....	55,131,948	51,420,272	
" " 1892.....	157,280,351	161,399,132	

From 1790 to 1860, inclusive, 71 years, we exported only 80,871,500 bushels; while in the year 1881, the largest year of our exportation, there was exported 150,565,477 bushels, exceeding nearly one-half more in this single year, or 69,693,977 bushels.

The largest year of exportation was in 1881; the smallest in 1827, being only 2,062 bushels; the highest price during decade, 1811-1820 (war period); lowest price 67 cents in 1827, and the highest price in 1864—of \$1.95 per bushel.

## WHEAT FLOUR.

Period.	Barrels.	Values.	Value per Barrel.
1790-1800.....	7,757,488	0	0
1801-1810.....	9,099,100	0	0
1811-1820.....	10,499,104	0	0
1821-1830.....	9,103,324	\$49,043,089	\$5 39
1831-1840.....	9,234,896	56,579,601	6 06
1841-1850.....	18,559,523	100,431,897	5 41
1851-1860.....	28,927,786	180,143,666	6 23
1861-1870.....	31,249,274	225,713,645	7 22
1871-1880.....	39,665,327	250,495,114	6 32
1881-1890.....	96,035,319	487,036,203	5 07
Total 101 years.....	260,231,141	0	0
Total 1821-1860 (40 years)	65,925,529	\$386,198,253	\$5 86
" 1861-1890 (30 " )	167,949,920	963,244,962	5 74
Fiscal year 1891.....	11,344,304	54,705,616	
" " 1892.....	15,196,769	75,362,283	

Covering the thirty years ending 1820, there was exported 27,355,692 barrels of flour, the value not stated; from 1821 to 1860, forty years, there was exported 65,925,529 barrels, valued at \$386,198,253; and for the period from 1861 to 1890 there was exported the number of 167,949,920 barrels, valued at \$963,324,962; the average value for the two periods being about the same, *i. e.*, \$5.86 and \$5.74 per barrel.

#### BROOMS AND BRUSHES.

YEARS.	VALUES.
1826-1830.....	\$27,603
1831-1840.....	48,135
1841-1850.....	31,138
1851-1860.....	210,473
1861-1870.....	1,459,297
1871-1880.....	1,608,414
1881-1890.....	1,710,271
Total, 65 years.....	\$5,095,331
Total, 1826-1860, 35 years.....	\$317,349
Total, 1861-1890, 30 years.....	4,777,982

The first record of the exportation of brooms and brushes begins in 1826, the above shows the value exported from 1826-1860 (35 years) to be \$317,349, while from 1860 to 1890 (30 years) had increased to \$4,777,982.

#### CANDLES OF ALL KINDS.

Years.	Pounds.	Values.	Value per Pound.
1801-1810.....	14,053,134		
1811-1820.....	8,491,498		
1821-1830.....	28,511,043		
1831-1840.....	30,447,195		
1841-1850.....	37,347,344		
1851-1860.....	41,257,116		cents.
1861-1870.....	43,124,721	\$7,812,165	18.1
1871-1880.....	18,688,107	2,675,168	14.3
1881-1890.....	17,419,353	1,945,630	11.2
Total 90 yrs.....	239,339,511		
1801-1860 (60 yrs.).....	160,107,330		
1861-1890 (30 yrs.).....	79,232,181	\$12,432,963	15.7

The above table gives only the number of pounds exported from 1801 to 1860, the values being included with other articles. The export is diminishing annually, owing to the introduction of other illuminating materials.

# CARRIAGES, CARTS, HORSE CARS AND PARTS OF.

YEARS.	VALUES.
1790-1800.....	\$135,301
1801-1810.....	159,535
1811-1820.....	192,210
1821-1830.....	419,360
1831-1840.....	631,595
1841-1850.....	721,442
1851-1860.....	4,188,673
1861-1870.....	5,515,263
1871-1880.....	6,839,096
1881-1890.....	15,034,937
Total 101 years.....	\$33,837,412
1790-1860 (71 years) .....	\$5,448,116
1861-1890 (30 years) .....	27,389,296

The above shows a gratifying increase of our manufactures; the large increase of the decade ending 1890 compared with the one preceding shows an increase of over 150 per cent.

## CARS, PASSENGER AND FREIGHT, FOR STEAM RAILROADS.

Years.	Number.	Values.	Value per Car.
1864, '5, '9 and '70.....		\$1,465,795	.....
1871-1880.....	7,371	6,618,621	\$807 93
1881-1890.....	17,808	11,870,485	666 58
Total ....		\$19,954,901	.....

The above speaks volumes in praise of our mechanical construction and ingenuity.

## CHEMICALS, DRUGS, DYES AND MEDICINES.

Years.	Values.	The Exportation of these Years included Ashes, Pot and Pearl.
1821-1830.....	\$13,948,238	\$11,594,661
1831-1840.....	9,403,262	7,128,606
1841-1850.....	10,890,706	7,256,754
1851-1860.....	14,256,755	5,400,532
1861-1870.....	30,883,608	3,959,576
1871-1880.....	34,597,603	871,673
1881-1890.....	52,225,084	
Total, 70 years....	\$166,205,256	
Total, 1821-1860 (40 yrs.)	\$48,498,961	
Total, 1860-1890 (30 yrs.)	117,706,295	

The larger portion of the exports for the first four decades consisted mostly of pot and pearl ashes and ginseng. The average exportation is about \$5,000,000 annually.



## CLOCKS, AND PARTS OF.

YEARS.	VALUES.
1864-1870.....	\$3,782,284
1871-1880.....	9,618,936
1881-1890.....	12,074,194
Total (27 years).....	<u>\$25,475,414</u>

The first record of the export of clocks, and parts of, begins in 1864. The last decade shows an increase of near 25 per cent. over the previous one.

## WATCHES, AND PARTS OF.

YEARS.	VALUES.
1870.....	\$4,335
1871-1880.....	531,131
1881-1890.....	2,221,215
Total (21 years).....	<u>\$2,756,681</u>

The year 1870 was the first year that watches, and parts of, form a place in the record of exports. We exported in 1870 \$4,335 worth, while the year 1890 there was exported \$351,089.

## COAL, ANTHRACITE.

Years.	Tons.	Values.	Value per Ton.
1867-1870.....	790,084	\$4,772,452	\$6 04
1871-1880.....	3,310,131	15,594,458	4 71
1881-1890.....	6,857,817	30,059,311	4 38
Total (24 years).....	10,958,032	\$50,426,221	\$4 60

## COAL, BITUMINOUS.

Years.	Tons.	Value.	Value per Ton.
1848-1850.....	57,711	\$254,598	\$4 41)
1851-1860.....	1,089,632	5,016,012	4 60)
1861-1866.....	1,008,632	6,107,820	6 05) Kind
1867-1870.....	285,376	1,449,440	5 08) not
1871-1880.....	2,472,927	9,467,930	3 83) specified.
1881-1890.....	6,262,678	18,870,454	3 01
Total (56 years)....	11,176,956	\$41,166,254	\$3 68

The table shows a large increase in quantity exported, with a decided decrease in value per ton.

# COPPER AND MANUFACTURES OF (INCLUDING BRASS, AND MFS. OF).

YEARS.	VALUES.
1801-1810.....	90,498
1811-1820.....	101,856
1821-1830.....	477,013
1831-1840.....	1,047,839
1841-1850.....	795,168
1851-1860.....	6,925,356
1861-1870.....	11,002,284
1871-1880.....	19,963,454
1881-1890.....	59,433,455
Total 90 years.....	99,836,923
Total 1801-1860 (60 yrs.).....	9,437,730
" 1861-1890 (30 ".).....	90,399,193

For the 60 years ending with 1860 there was exported of copper, and manufactures of, the value of \$9,437,730, and for the 30 years ending 1890 there were exported the sum of \$90,399,193; about one-half or more consists of copper ore.

## COTTON, RAW.

Years.	Pounds.	Values.	Value per Pound.
			Cents.
1796-1800.....	46,577,229	0	
1801-1810.....	414,010,703		
1811-1820.....	686,708,202	\$156,726,299	22.8
1821-1830.....	2,034,843,621	256,554,294	12.6
1831-1840.....	4,317,330,823	528,806,110	12.2
1841-1850.....	6,994,793,991	553,409,821	7.9
1851-1860.....	11,800,787,893	1,236,063,866	10.5
1861-1870.....	4,044,520,428	1,083,953,310	26.8
1871-1880.....	14,210,292,095	1,945,766,887	13.7
1881-1890.....	21,321,443,919	2,216,883,294	10.4
Total 95 years.....	65,871,308,904		
Total 1811-1860 (50 yrs.)..	25,834,464,530	\$2,731,560,390	
Total 1861-1890 (30 yrs.)....	39,576,256,442	5,246,602,991	10.6
1891.....	2,898,553,804	287,649,930	13.3
1892.....	2,932,013,670	256,869,777	

The exports of cotton from 1796 to 1860, 65 years, amounted to 26,295,052,462 pounds, and for the thirty years ending 1890 there was exported 39,576,256,442 pounds, or about 50 per cent. more, while the price is also above the earlier period.

## COTTON, MANUFACTURES OF.

YEARS.	VALUES.
1826-1830.....	\$6,402,683
1831-1840.....	26,428,630
1841-1850.....	40,845,102
1851-1860.....	77,001,788
1861-1870.....	46,542,947
1871-1880.....	71,005,827
1881-1890.....	127,491,518
Total 65 years....	\$395,720,895
1826-1860 (35 years).....	\$150,681,203
1861-1890 (30 years).....	245,039,692

The increase of exports of the manufacture of cotton of the last 30 years over the previous 35 years is about 63 per cent.

#### EARTHEN, STONE AND CHINA WARE.

YEARS.	VALUES.
1826-1830.....	\$22,410
1831-1840.....	117,305
1841-1850.....	75,606
1851-1860.....	411,159
1861-1870.....	473,510
1871-1880.....	733,838
1881-1890.....	1,878,018
Total, 65 years.....	<u>\$3,716,846</u>
Total, 1831-1860 (30 years).....	<u>\$626,480</u>
Total, 1861-1890 (30 years).....	<u>3,090,366</u>

The exports of the earlier periods consisted principally of the common earthen and stone ware, for the first thirty-five years, up to 1860, only exported to the value of \$626,480, and from 1861-1890, the sum of \$3,090,366, or about 500 per cent. increase. The last decade exhibits an increase over the former decade of over 150 per cent.

#### FERTILIZERS.

YEARS.	VALUES.
1865-1870.....	\$226,434
1871-1880.....	6,827,706
1881-1890.....	11,092,079
Total 26 years.....	<u>\$18,146,219</u>

The above table indicates progress made in manufacturing the phosphates and other native crude fertilizers.

#### FRUITS.

YEARS.	VALUES.
1817-1820.....	\$242,301
1821-1830.....	344,952
1831-1840.....	370,317
1841-1850.....	616,273
1851-1860.....	1,041,079
1861-1870.....	4,869,402
1871-1880.....	14,831,726
1881-1890.....	33,989,792
Total 74 years.....	<u>\$56,308,842</u>
Total 1821-1860 (40 years).....	<u>\$2,614,922</u>
“ 1861-1890 (30 “ ).....	<u>53,693,920</u>

The above table of fruits for the period up to 1860 (the exports) consisted principally of green or ripe and dried; the two latter decades of canned and preserved fruits. The increase of the last over the previous decade shows an increase of over 120 per cent.

## FURS AND FUR SKINS.

YEARS.	VALUES.
1790-1800.....	\$1,984,078
1801-1810.....	5,417,945
1811-1820.....	4,031,436
1821-1830.....	5,945,236
1831-1840.....	7,751,968
1841-1850.....	7,962,797
1851-1860.....	10,135,860
1861-1870.....	14,293,236
1871-1880.....	37,427,898
1881-1890.....	44,888,429
Total 101 years.....	<u>\$139,838,883</u>
Total 1790-1860 (71 yrs.).....	43,229,320
“ 1861-1890 (30 “ ).....	<u>96,609,563</u>

From 1790 to 1860 (71 years) there were exported of furs and fur skins of the value of \$43,229,320, and for the thirty years ending 1890 the value of the same amounted to \$96,609,563, an increase of over 123 per cent.

## GLASS AND GLASSWARE.

YEARS.	VALUES.
1826-1830.....	\$265,496
1831-1840.....	691,966
1841-1850.....	757,934
1851-1860.....	2,125,903
1861-1870.....	6,976,549
1871-1880.....	6,638,632
1881-1890.....	8,558,672
Total 65 years.....	<u>\$26,015,152</u>
Total 1826-1860 (35 yrs.).....	3,841,299
“ 1861-1890 (30 “ ).....	<u>22,173,853</u>

Glass and glassware exported 1826-1860 (35 years) amounted to \$3,841,299, while from 1860-1890 they amounted to \$22,173,853. The exports for decade 1890 were \$8,558,672, being \$4,717,373 greater than for the thirty-five years ending with the year 1860, or over 120 per cent.

## GUNPOWDER.

Years.	Pounds.	Values.	Value per Pound.
1790-1800.....	82,799	Not given.	0
1801-1810.....	1,616,319	“	0
1811-1820.....	3,247,519	“	0
1821-1830.....	8,751,234	\$1,436,158	16.4
1831-1840.....	12,775,634	1,603,584	12.6
1841-1850.....	11,994,805	1,285,024	10.7
1851-1860.....	23,690,483	3,271,367	13.8
1861-1870.....	7,430,727	1,321,426	17.7
1871-1880.....	7,115,757	1,210,243	17.
1881-1890.....	13,939,658	2,150,888	15.4
Total, 101 years.....	90,644,935	0	0
Total, 1790-1860 (71 yrs.).	62,158,793	0	0
Total, 1861-1890 (30 yrs.).	28,486,142	\$4,682,557	16.4



In the above table the exports of gunpowder have decreased, the use of it has been superseded by other recently introduced explosives, which are separately provided for, but not given in this series of tables.

#### HEMP AND FLAX, AND MANUFACTURES OF.

YEARS.	VALUES.
1821-1830.....	\$339,789
1831-1840.....	315,214
1841-1850.....	514,771
1851-1860.....	2,927,791
1861-1870.....	6,107,234
1871-1880.....	12,886,355
1881-1890.....	15,946,757
Total, 70 years.....	\$39,037,911
Total, 1821-1860 (40 years).....	\$4,097,565
Total, 1861-1890 (30 years).....	\$34,940,346

With hemp, flax, and manufactures of, the export trade has grown steadily; an increase of the thirty years ending with 1890, over the forty years ending with 1860, is about 700 per cent., or, in dollars, \$30,842,781.

#### HOPS.

Years.	Pounds.	Values.	Value Per Pound.
1801-1810.....	2,566,054	0	
1811-1820.....	773,723	0	
1821-1830.....	2,723,817	0	
1831-1840.....	5,449,186	0	
1841-1850.....	6,723,642	0	
1851-1860.....	8,169,09	\$1,854,619	22.7
1861-1870.....	61,583,114	11,849,493	19.2
1871-1880.....	63,743,599	11,428,606	17.9
1881-1890.....	84,097,494	20,654,112	24.6
Total, 90 years.....	225,829,638	0	0
Total, 1801-1860 (60 years)	26,405,431	0	0
Total, 1861-1890 (30 years)	209,424,207	\$43,932,211	21.

The exportation of hops from 1801 to 1860 (60 years) amounted to 26,405,431 pounds; the value of the same cannot be stated; and from 1861 to 1890 (30 years, the exports ran up to 209,424,207 pounds, valued (at 21 cents per pound) \$43,932,211.

#### INDIA-RUBBER AND GUTTA-PERCHA, MANUFACTURES OF.

YEARS.	VALUES.
1855-1860.....	\$3,899,204
1861-1870.....	2,064,287
1871-1880.....	2,369,388
1881-1890.....	7,089,278
Total, 46 years.....	\$15,422,157

Of India-rubber and gutta-percha and manufactures of, the figures show large increased exportation by the last decade—over 200 per cent. increase.

# IRON AND STEEL AND MANUFACTURES OF.

YEARS.	VALUES.
1821-1830.....	\$2,057,361
1831-1840.....	4,971,265
1841-1850.....	11,119,714
1851-1860.....	40,879,152
1861-1870.....	84,633,313
1871-1880.....	155,067,526
1881-1890.....	194,850,927
Total, 70 years.....	<u>\$493,379,258</u>
1821-1860 (40 yrs.).....	<u>\$58,827,492</u>
1861-1890 (30 yrs.).....	<u>434,551,766</u>

For the 40 years ending with 1860 there were exported of the manufactures of iron and steel the value of \$58,-827,492; and for the 30 years ending with 1890 the value of \$434,551,766, or over \$375,724,274 more than the 40 years ending in 1860.

# LEAD AND MANUFACTURES OF.

YEARS.	VALUES.
1826-1830.....	\$22,905
1831-1840.....	54,375
1841-1850.....	136,467
1851-1860.....	487,793
1861-1870.....	533,808
1871-1880.....	1,670,892
1881-1890.....	1,289,148
Total, 65 years.....	<u>\$4,195,388</u>
1826-1860 (35 yrs.).....	<u>\$701,540</u>
1861-1890 (30 yrs.).....	<u>3,495,388</u>

Lead, with other products and manufacture, shows its capacity to maintain its places, the decline in price during the last decade may account for the decreased value in exportation.

# LEATHER AND MANUFACTURES OF.

YEARS.	VALUES.
1821-1830.....	\$5,509,171
1831-1840.....	2,667,509
1841-1850.....	2,620,076
1851-1860.....	10,856,800
1861-1870.....	14,956,327
1871-1880.....	63,783,803
1881-1890.....	94,954,009
Total 70 years.....	<u>\$195,347,695</u>
Total 1821-1860 (40 years).....	<u>\$21,635,556</u>
Total 1861-1890 (30 years).....	<u>173,694,139</u>

Leather and manufactures of, exported during the forty years ending with 1860, amounted to \$21,635,556, and for the thirty years ending with 1890, amounted to \$173,694,139, being in excess of the forty years of \$152,058,538.

# MARBLE AND STONE AND MANUFACTURES OF.

YEARS.	VALUES.
1826-1830.....	\$27,232
1831-1840.....	86,618
1841-1850.....	200,485
1851-1860.....	1,104,012
1861-1870.....	1,869,735
1871-1880.....	4,906,745
1881-1890.....	6,431,068
Total 65 years.....	<u>\$14,625,895</u>
Total 1826-1860 (35 years).....	<u>\$1,418,347</u>
Total 1861-1890 (30 years).....	<u>13,207,548</u>

Of marble, stone and manufactures of, there was exported for the thirty-five years ending with 1860, the value of \$1,418,347, and for the thirty years ending with 1890, value exported amounted to \$13,207,548, being \$11,789,201 more than for the previous thirty-five years, or over 831 per cent.

## INSTRUMENTS AND APPARATUS FOR SCIENTIFIC PURPOSES, INCLUDING TELEGRAPH, TELEPHONE AND OTHER ELECTRIC.

YEARS.	VALUES.
1864-1870.....	\$90,178
1871-1880.....	491,196
1881-1890.....	6,761,544
Total 27 years.....	<u>\$7,342,918</u>

The above indicates that the manufacturers of mathematical, scientific, philosophical, electrical and other instruments are demonstrating their ability to compete with the old manufacturers in Europe—an enormous increase during the last decade.

## MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

YEARS.	VALUES.
1826-1830.....	\$49,141
1831-1840.....	76,401
1841-1850.....	200,642
1851-1860.....	1,054,543
1861-1870.....	1,883,775
1871-1880.....	6,427,050
1881-1890.....	10,181,531
Total, 65 years.....	<u>\$19,873,083</u>
Total, 1826-1860 (35 years).....	<u>\$1,380,727</u>
Total, 1861-1890 (30 years).....	<u>18,492,356</u>

From 1826-1860, thirty-five years, there was exported of musical instruments the value of \$1,380,727, and from 1861 to 1890, thirty years, there was exported \$18,492,356, an increase of \$17,111,629, and for the decade ending with 1890 the value was \$10,181,539, an increase of nearly 66 per cent.

# NAVAL STORES—TAR, PITCH, RESIN AND TURPENTINE.

Years.	Barrels.	Values.
1790-1800.....	1,265,281	Not given.
1801-1810.....	1,376,741	Not given.
1811-1820.....	1,407,566	\$4,341,281
1821-1830.....	1,884,451	4,082,416
1831-1840.....	2,409,384	6,181,164
1841-1850.....	3,828,207	8,121,974
1851-1860.....	6,687,531	16,929,970
1861-1870.....	3,111,260	12,251,195
1871-1880.....	9,384,345	27,177,630
1881-1895.....	13,803,577	26,460,360
Total, 101 years.....	45,158,343	0
Total, 1790-1860 (71 years).....	18,859,161	0
Total, 1861-1890 (30 years).....	26,299,182	\$65,889,185

The quantity of naval stores above enumerated only given for the whole period. From 1790 to 1860 there was exported 18,859,161 barrels, and from 1861 to 1899, thirty years, 26,299,182 barrels, an increase of the previous seventy-one years of 7,440,021 barrels.

## OIL CAKE AND OIL CAKE MEAL.

Years.	Pounds.	Values.	Value per Pound.
			Cents.
1855-1860.....	0	\$7,307,309	
1861-1870.....	0	22,951,156	
1871-1880.....	2,764,515,170	47,317,341	1.7
1881-1890.....	5,426,894,137	68,470,765	1.3
Total, 36 years.....	0	\$146,046,571	0

## OILS, MINERAL—MINERAL OILS, CRUDE (INCLUDING ALL NATURAL OILS WITHOUT REGARD TO GRAVITY.)

Years.	Gallons.	Values.	Value per Gallon.
			Cents.
1862-1870.....	85,520,084	\$26,981,212	31.5
1871-1880.....	202,801,557	23,573,357	11.6
1881-1890.....	692,512,780	49,646,057	7.2
Total, 29 years.....	980,834,421	\$100,200,626	10.2

The exportation of crude mineral oil has largely increased in quantity exported, and the price has fallen from 31½ to 7.2 cents in 1890.



(OILS, MINERAL CONTINUED)—OIL, MINERAL, REFINED OR MANUFACTURED. NAPHTHAS (INCLUDING ALL LIGHTER PRODUCTS OF DISTILLATION).

Years.	Gallons.	Values.	Value per Gall.
			Cents.
1864-1870.....	11,430,163	\$1,829,541	16.0
1871-1880.....	126,344,662	12,468,772	9.9
1881-1890.....	153,595,053	12,801,205	8.3
Total 27 years.....	291,369,878	\$27,099,518	9.3

The exportation of naphthas in value has slightly increased during the last decade, yet the value has decreased nearly 20 per cent. per gallon.

OILS, MINERAL (CONTINUED). OIL, MINERAL, REFINED, &C. (CONTINUED). ILLUMINATING.

Years.	Gallons.	Values.	Value per Gall.
			Cents.
1864-1870.....	372,673,059	\$134,894,080	36.2
1871-1880.....	2,277,406,704	359,945,778	15.8
1881-1890.....	4,546,533,072	386,184,008	8.5
Total, 27 years.....	7,196,612,835	\$881,023,866	12.2

ILLUMINATING OIL, the total value of exportation for the last decade over the previous is only a little over 26 million dollars, yet the quantity for the same period exceeds by 2,269,126,368; the price per gallon, 1871-1880, was 15.8 cents; while, in 1880-1890, was only 8½ cents per gallon.

OIL, MINERAL, REFINED, &C. (CONTINUED). LUBRICATING AND HEAVY PARAFFINE OIL.

Years.	Gallons.	Values.	Value per Gallon.
			Cents.
1869-1870.....	141,403	\$53,733	38.
1871-1880.....	16,287,175	4,365,178	26.8
1881-1890.....	152,716,209	28,369,229	18.6
Total 22 years.....	169,144,787	\$32,788,140	19.4

Note to preceding table will apply to this.

OIL, MINERAL, REFINED, &c. (CONTINUED). RESIDUUM (INCLUDING TAR AND ALL OTHER FROM WHICH THE LIGHT HAVE BEEN DISTILLED).

Years.	Barrels.	Values.	Value per Bbl.
1871-1880.....	562,399	\$1,779,326	\$3 17
1881-1890.....	874,234	2,206,024	2 52
Total 20 years.....	1,436,663	\$3,985,350	\$2 77

Large increase of exportation in quantity, with a corresponding decrease in value, viz., from \$3.17 to \$2.52 per barrel.

OILS, ANIMAL—LARD.

Years.	Gallons.	Values.	Value per Gall.
			Cents.
1855-1860.....	592,120	\$504,210	85.2
1861-1870.....	2,755,652	2,547,985	92.5
1871-1880.....	6,966,702	4,507,403	64.5
1881-1890.....	8,305,494	5,140,567	61.9
Total 36 years.....	18,639,968	\$12,700,165	68.1

Exportations of lard oil show large increase since 1870, and about 12 per cent. increase in quantity during the last decade with a decrease in price. The highest price obtained during war decade, 1861-1870.

OILS, ANIMAL—SPERM.

Years.	Gallons.	Values.	Value per Gallon.
			Cents.
1790-1800.....	1,163,199	0	0
1801-1810.....	448,029	0	0
1811-1820.....	315,273	0	0
1821-1830.....	697,839	442,129	63.3
1831-1840.....	1,321,131	1,161,831	87.9
1841-1850.....	5,651,262	5,213,722	92.3
1851-1860.....	9,421,469	12,791,046	136.
1861-1870.....	7,806,319	13,651,804	175.
1871-1880.....	6,556,827	8,697,151	133.
1881-1890.....	2,417,634	2,211,626	91.5
Total, 101 years.....	35,798,982	0	0
Total, 1790-1820 (31 yrs.).....	1,926,501	0	0
“ 1821-1860 (40 “).....	17,091,701	\$19,608,728	114.7
“ 1861-1890 (30 “).....	16,780,780	24,560,581	146.4

Owing to the decline of the fisheries and the introduction of cheaper illuminating materials, the exportation has diminished.

## OILS, ANIMAL—WHALE AND FISH.

Years.	Gallons.	Values.	Value per Gall.
1790-1800.....	6,735,160	0	Cents.
1801-1810.....	5,341,692	0	0
1811-1820.....	4,114,923	0	0
1821-1830.....	10,529,134	\$3,016,445	28.6
1831-1840.....	30,188,942	9,801,337	32.3
1841-1850.....	30,797,885	10,572,758	34.3
1851-1860.....	8,481,018	5,145,369	60.7
1861-1870.....	8,441,411	5,943,709	70.4
1871-1880.....	10,049,720	4,249,490	42.3
1881-1890.....	9,596,736	2,874,624	30.0
Total 101 years....	124,276,621	0	0
Total 1790-1820 (31 yrs.).....	16,191,775		
Total 1821-1860 (40 yrs.).....	79,996,979	\$28,535,909	35.6
Total 1861-1890 (30 yrs.).....	28,087,867	13,067,823	46.5

To the failure in the fisheries and introduction of cheaper illuminating material may be attributed the decline in exportation.

## OILS, ANIMAL—OTHER ANIMAL.

Years.	Gallons.	Values.	Value per Gallon.
1867-1870....	104,240	\$41,099	Cents.
1871-1880.....	305,093	268,592	40
1881-1890.....	3,313,224	1,844,960	88
Total, 25 years.....	3,722,557	\$2,154,651	55.7
			57.4

## OILS, VEGETABLE—COTTON-SEED.

Years.	Gallons.	Values.	Value per Gallon.
1869-1870.....	Est. 130,000	\$65,390	Cents.
1871-1880.....	22,067,500	10,354,596	50.3
1881-1890.....	45,384,428	18,408,162	47
Total, 22 years.....	67,581,928	\$28,828,148	40.5
			42.7

The last decade shows over 100 per cent increase of quantity, while there is a decline in price of about 14 per cent.

# OILS—VEGETABLE LINSEED OIL.

Years.	Gallons.	Values.	Value per Gallon.
1801-1810.....	136,372	0	
1811-1820.....	124,599	0	
1821-1830.....	108,663	0	
1831-1840.....	53,665	0	
1841-1850.....	80,075	0	
1851-1860.....	411,634	0	
1861-1870.....		\$393,338	
1871-1880.....	365,923	310,480	84.8
1881-1890.....	766,190	453,778	59.2

The last decade shows an increase over the former of 100 per cent., with a decided in value, per gallon, of about 43 per cent.

## PAINTS, PAINTERS' COLORS AND VARNISH.

YEARS.	VALUES.
1826-1830.....	\$112,287
1831-1840.....	244,332
1841-1850.....	470,945
1851-1860.....	1,543,645
1861-1870.....	2,324,215
1871-1880.....	2,523,851
1881-1890.....	6,350,190
Total 65 years.....	\$13,569,465
Total 1826-1860 (35 yrs.).....	\$2,371,209
" 1861-1890 (30 " ).....	11,198,256

The exportation of paints, colors and varnish for the thirty-five years ending with 1860 show the value to be \$2,371,209; and for the thirty years ending 1890 the value amounted to \$11,198,256, an increase of about 400 per cent. The last decade shows nearly as much (\$6,350,190) as the previous fifty-five years.

## PAPER, AND MANUFACTURES OF, EXCEPT BOOKS.

YEARS.	VALUES.
1826-1830.....	\$175,947
1831-1840.....	641,556
1841-1850.....	872,192
1851-1860.....	2,018,317
1861-1870.....	5,303,794
1871-1880.....	8,296,330
1881-1890.....	12,279,046
Total 65 years.....	\$29,587,182
Total 1826-1860 (35 yrs.).....	\$3,708,012
" 1861-1890 (30 " ).....	25,879,170

For the thirty-five years ending with 1860 there was



exported of paper, and manufactures of, except books, the value of \$3,708,012, and for the thirty years ending with 1890 we exported \$25,879,170, or, say, 700 per cent. increase.

PROVISIONS—BACON AND HAMS.

Years.	Pounds.	Values.	Value per Pound.
1790-1800.....	11,453,582	Not given separately.	0
1801-1810.....	13,335,798		0
1811-1820.....	6,636,969		0
1821-1830.....	17,692,566		0
1831-1840.....	14,735,852		0
1841-1850.....	165,896,246		0
1851-1860.....	270,706,916		0
			cents.
1861-1870.....	761,752,783	\$85,300,269	11.2
1871-1880.....	4,183,353,042	369,262,925	8.8
1881-1890.....	4,568,723,378	401,600,845	8.8
Total, 101 years.....	10,014,287,132	0	0
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Total, 1790-1860 (71 yrs.)...	500,457,929	0	0
“ 1861-1890 (30 yrs.)...	9,513,829,203	856,164,039	9.0
Fiscal year 1891. ....	599,085,665		
“ “ 1892.....	584,776,389		

The exports from 1790 to 1860, a period of 71 years, amounted to 500,457,929 pounds; for the 30 years ending with 1890 the enormous amount of 9,513,829,203 pounds, nearly 20 times as much as for the 71 years. There was exported in 1890, 608,490,956 pounds, being more in this one year than in the 71 years ending with 1860.

The restriction placed by foreign powers upon pork and its products being removed, exportation will naturally increase.

PROVISIONS (CONTINUED). BEEF.

Years.	Barrels.	Tierces.	Pounds.	Values.
1790-1800.....	853,612			Not given separately.
1801-1810.....	763,196			
1811-1820.....	392,828			
1821-1830.....	708,167			
1831-1840.....	402,471			
1841-1850.....	914,456			
1851-1860.....	839,042	298,376	0	
1861-1870.....	415,768	205,821	109,946,863	\$23,770,466
1871-1880.....	0	0	383,188,012	29,626,520
1881-1890.....	0	0	1,816,047,064	174,627,924
Total 101 years.....	5,289,540	504,197	2,309,181,939	0
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Total 1790-1860 (71 yrs.)	0	0	0	0
“ 1861-1890 (30 “ )			2,309,181,939	\$228,024,910

The records of the exports of beef are such that comparison cannot well be stated; the two last decades will show the magnitude and growth of the trade.

PROVISIONS (CONTINUED). BUTTER.

Years.	Pounds.	Values.	Value per Pound.
			Cents. ✓
1801-1810.....	19,558,054	0	
1811-1820.....	9,318,450	0	
1821-1830.....	11,596,858	0	
1831-1840.....	9,086,536	0	
1841-1850.....	33,773,410	0	
1851-1860.....	36,338,779	0	
1861-1870.....	133,985,053	\$30,798,104	23.
1871-1880.....	152,452,885	27,482,030	18.
1881-1890.....	188,207,890	32,588,933	17.2
Total, 91 years.....	594,317,915	0	0
Total, 1801-1860 (60 yrs.)...	119,672,087	0	0
Total, 1861-1890 (30 yrs.)....	474,645,728	\$30,669,127	19.1
Fiscal year 1891.....	15,187,114		
Fiscal year 1892.....	15,047,246		

From 1801 to 1860, period of 60 years, there was exported of butter 119,672,087 pounds, and for the 30 years ending 1890, 474,672,828 pounds, an increase of over 297 per cent.

PROVISIONS (CONTINUED)—CHEESE.

Years.	Pounds.	Valuc.	Value per Pound.	Value of Cheese and Butter
1790-1800... ..	9,795,188	0		
1801-1810.....	9,551,323	0		
1811-1820.....	6,167,769	0		
1821-1830.....	7,914,198	0		
1831-1840.....	8,247,795	0		
1841-1850.....	90,610,348	0		
1851-1860.....	78,533,833	0	Cents.	
1861-1870.....	446,482,816	\$63,850,667	14.3	
1871-1880.....	999,924,409	116,388,443	11.6	
1881-1890.....	1,041,585,995	104,155,666	10.	
Total, 101 years.	2,698,813,675	a	)	
Total, 1790-1860 (71 years).. Total, 1861-1890 (30 years).. Fiscal year 1891.... “ “ 1892....	210,820,454 2,487,993,221 82,133,876 82,100,221	0 \$284,394,776	0 11.4	

During the 71 years ending with 1860, there was exported 210,820,454 pounds, and for the 30 years ending with 1890, we sent 2,487,993,221 pounds, or over **1080** per cent., at an average price of 11.4 cents per pound.

PROVISIONS (CONTINUED)—FISH.

VALUES.

Years.	Fresh.	Dried or Smoked.	Pickled.	Other, Cured.
1811-1820.....	0	\$7,216,026	\$2,611,157	0
1821-1830.....	0	7,326,643	2,486,840	0
1831-1840.....	0	6,713,389	2,253,099	0
1841-1850.....	0	5,808,067	1,493,733	0
1851-1860.....	0	4,831,683	1,536,679	0
1861-1870.....	\$794,075	7,251,428	3,398,982	\$621,603
1871-1880.....	783,708	7,018,876	3,025,693	17,790,548
1881-1890.....	503,606	9,240,152	2,422,534	36,408,807
Total, 80 years....	\$2,081,389	\$55,406,264	\$19,228,717	\$54,820,958
1810-1860 (50 years) ...	0	\$31,895,808	\$10,381,508	0
1861-1890 (30 years) ...	\$2,081,389	23,510,456	8,847,209	\$54,820,958

Total exported of all kinds from 1811-1860 (50 years).... \$42,277,316  
 Total exported of all kinds from 1861-1890 (30 years)..... 89,260,012

This table shows we exported twice as much in the thirty years ending with 1890 as we did in the fifty years ending with 1860. Our canned goods (fish) added greatly to our exports during the last decade.

PROVISIONS (CONTINUED)—LARD.

Years.	Pounds.	Values.	Value per Pound.
1790-1800.....	10,045,065	0	
1801-1810.....	16,941,301	0	
1811-1820.....	14,380,735	0	
1821-1830.....	59,145,881	0	
1831-1840.....	77,297,539	0	
1841-1850.....	302,493,767	0	
1851-1860.....	325,379,019	0	
1861-1870.....	681,459,734	\$86,295,357	12.6
1871-1880.....	2,330,171,326	222,986,318	9.6
1881-1890.....	3,103,868,128	265,323,202	8.5
Total, 101 years.....	6,924,182,515	0	0
Total, 1790-1860 (71 yrs.).....	808,683,327	0	0
" 1861-1890 (30 " ).....	6,115,499,188	\$574,604,877	9.4
Fiscal year 1891.....	498,343,927		
" " 1892.....	460,045,776		

Notwithstanding the restrictions placed upon our pork products by foreign governments, our exportations are increasing annually. The increase of the 30 years ending with 1890, over the period from 1790 to 1860-71, is over 600 per cent., or 5,306,815,861 pounds.

The increase of last decade over the previous one amounted to 772,696,802 pounds.

PROVISIONS CONTINUED—PORK.

Years.	Barrels.	Tierces.	Pounds.	Values.
1790-1800.....	520,260	0	0	Not given separately.
1801-1810.....	585,927	0	0	
1811-1820.....	377,077	0	0	
1821-1830.....	670,293	0	0	
1831-1840.....	576,547	0	0	
1841-1850.....	1,774,068	0	0	
1851-1860.....	1,857,344	and 24,196	0	
1861-1870.....	1,309,306	5,777	and 135,201,461	
1871-1880.....	0	0	663,310,162	
1881-1890.....	0	0	759,377,187	
Total, 101 years.....	7,670,822	29,973	and 1,557,889,810	0
Total, 1790-1860 (71 yrs.).....	6,361,516	24,196	0	0
Total, 1861-1890 (30 yrs.).....	1,309,306	5,777	and 1,557,889,810	\$150,811,562

The figures show a gratifying increase during the last decade however. The restrictions by foreign powers upon pork having been removed, we may expect larger demand for it from abroad.

(The barrels and tierces might be reduced to pounds at 200 and 300 pounds each respectively.)

POTATOES.

Years.	Bushels.	Values.	Value per Bushel.
			Cents.
1790-1800.....	420,752	[Not given.]	0
1801-1810.....	689,571	" "	0
1811-1820.....	744,557	" "	0
1821-1830.....	1,024,264	\$380,363	37.1
1831-1840.....	1,067,798	481,604	45.1
1841-1850.....	1,620,431	842,956	52.
1851-1860.....	2,373,826	1,805,352	76.1
1861-1870.....	4,815,927	4,618,070	95.9
1871-1880.....	6,096,828	4,980,639	81.7
1881-1890.....	4,632,315	3,529,987	76.2
Total 101 years.....	23,486,269	0	0
Total 1790-1860 (71 yrs.).....	7,941,199	0	0
" 1861-1890 (30 " ).....	15,545,070	13,128,696	84.5

The seventy-one years ending with 1860 show about half as many bushels exported as there was in the twenty years ending with 1890. The price was about the same in the decades ending 1860 and 1890, viz., 76 cents per bushel.



# SOAP.

Years.	Pounds.	Values.	Value per Pound.
1801-1810.....	18,764,104	0	0
1811-1820.....	20,099,896	0	0
1821-1830.....	60,646,659	0	0
1831-1840.....	39,836,907	0	0
1841-1850.....	38,297,710	0	0
1851-1860.....	58,864,801	0	0
			Cents.
1861-1870.....	73,794,777	\$6,607,428	9.
1871-1880.....	103,573,503	6,402,825	6.2
1881-1890.....	169,099,798	7,934,140	4.7
Total 90 years.....	582,978,155	0	0
Total 1801-1860.....	236,510,077	0	0
“ 1861-1890.....	346,468,078	\$20,944,393	6.1

For the 60 years ending with 1860, exported, 236,510,077 pounds, and for the 30 years ending with 1890, exported, 346,468,078 pounds, or over 40 per cent. more. The price or last decade is only 4.7 cents per pound.

# SPIRITS OF TURPENTINE.

Years.	Gallons.	Values.	Value per Gallon.
			Cents.
1801-1810.....	130,703	0	
1811-1820.....	192,974	0	
1821-1830.....	546,354	0	
1831-1840.....	1,174,466	0	
1841-1850.....	3,373,974	0	
1851-1860.....	17,943,743	\$8,715,630	48.6
1861-1870.....	14,491,169	7,309,792	50.4
1871-1880.....	58,723,630	21,330,831	36.3
1881-1890.....	94,831,502	35,404,947	37.2
Total, 90 years.....	191,408,515	0	0
Total, 1801-1860 (60 yrs.).....	23,362,214	0	0
Total, 1861-1890 (30 yrs.).....	168,046,301	\$64,054,570	38.1

The exportation of spirits of turpentine from 1801 to 1860 amounted to 23,362,214 gallons, and from 1861 to 1891 amounted to 168,046,301 gallons, an increase of 144,684,087 gallons.

**SPIRITS DISTILLED FROM GRAIN, MOLASSES AND OTHER MATERIAL.**

Years.	Gallons.	Values.	Value per Gall.
			Cents.
1790-1800.....	6,570,808	0	0
1801-1810.....	6,499,741	0	0
1811-1820.....	3,441,255	0	0
1821-1830.....	6,269,905	0	0
1831-1840.....	5,204,431	0	0
1841-1850.....	10,981,297	\$3,231,723	29.5
1851-1860.....	31,330,915	13,332,773	42.6
1861-1870.....	36,440,927	17,089,237	46.9
1871-1880.....	31,878,189	11,594,867	36.4
1881-1890.....	61,748,312	25,292,977	41.0
Total, 101 years.....	202,365,780	0	0
1790-1820 (31 yrs.).....	16,511,804	0	0
1821-1860 (40 yrs.).....	53,786,548	0	0
1861-1890 (30 yrs.).....	130,067,428	53,977,081	41.5

The total number of gallons exported for 31 years ended 1820 were 16,511,804; from 1821 to 1860, 40 years, was 53,786,548 gallons, and for the 30 years ending with 1890 was 130,067,428 gallons, an increase of 141 per cent.

The exports for decade ending 1890 exceeded the former decade by over 93 per cent.

**SUGAR REFINED.**

Years.	Pounds.	Values.	Value per Pound.
			Cents.
1801-1810.....	2,071,905	0	0
1811-1820.....	426,062	0	0
1821-1830.....	3,237,168	414,268	12.8
1831-1840.....	27,722,090	2,979,062	10.7
1841-1850.....	34,923,030	3,166,167	9.1
1851-1860.....	38,170,285	3,251,232	8.5
1861-1870.....	32,974,281	4,200,092	12.7
1871-1880.....	289,870,127	29,360,829	10.1
1881-1890.....	822,206,850	54,879,045	6.7
Total, 90 years.....	1,251,401,798	0	0
Total, 1801-1820 (20 yrs.).....	2,497,967	0	0
Total, 1821-1860 (40 yrs.).....	104,052,573	9,810,729	9.4
Total, 1861-1890 (30 yrs.).....	1,144,851,258	88,439,966	7.7

Exports of refined sugar from 1821 to 1860 amounted to 104,052,573 pounds; and from 1861 to 1890 amounted to 144,851,258 pounds, or over ten times as much. The price has decreased largely.

## TALLOW.

Years.	Pounds.	Values.	Value per Pound.
1790-1800.....	143,360	Not given separately.	
1801-1810.....	305,968		
1811-1820.....	277,322		
1821-1830.....	3,682,857		
1831-1840.....	4,609,226		
1841-1850.....	80,250,874		
1851-1860.....	81,897,537		
1861-1870.....	349,759,013	\$38,892,107	Cents. 11.1
1871-1880.....	816,541,219	66,831,761	8.2
18 1-1890.....	686,481,833	40,598,660	5.9
Total, 101 years.....	2,025,242,209	0	0
Total, 1790-1861 (71 yrs.)...	172,460,144	0	0
“ 1861-1890 (30 yrs.)...	1,852,782,065	\$146,322,528	7.9

Export of tallow from 1790 to 1861, 71 years, was 172,-460,144 pounds; and from 1861 to 1891 amounted to 1,852,782,065 pounds, or over 900 per cent.

## TOBACCO.

## VALUES.

Years.	Leaf.	Manufactures.	Total.
1811-1820.....	\$59,962,019	0	0
1821-1830.....	56,889,291	\$1,946,410	\$58,835,701
1831-1840.....	74,457,223	4,433,842	78,891,065
1841-1850.....	81,662,219	5,937,959	87,600,178
1851-1860.....	141,771,334	19,660,012	161,437,346
1861-1870.....	223,961,794	27,078,856	251,040,650
1871-1880.....	240,277,368	27,256,201	267,533,569
1881-1890.....	212,457,818	30,146,076	242,603,894
Total, 80 years.....	\$1,091,439,066	\$116,459,356	\$1,147,942,403
1821-1860.....	\$354,780,067	\$31,978,223	\$386,764,290
1861-1890.....	676,696,980	84,481,133	761,178,113

The records show the exports of leaf tobacco to be by bales, cases, hogshead and pounds. No results could be derived from them; they are omitted from this table.

The value of all tobacco, and manufactures of, for the 30 years ending 1890, exceed the former 50 years by over 100 per cent.

## TRUNKS, VALISES AND TRAVELING BAGS.

YEARS.	VALUES.
1826-1830.....	\$45,786
1831-1840.....	47,912
1841-1850.....	56,199
1851-1860.....	335,249
1861-1870.....	929,973
1871-1880.....	1,496,163
1881-1890.....	1,804,269
Total 65 years.....	\$4,715,551
Total 1826-1860 (35 years).....	\$485,146
“ 1861-1890 (30 “ ).....	4,230,405

For the thirty years ending with 1890, the exports exceeded those of the preceding thirty-five years by \$3,745,259, or nearly nine times as much.

#### WOOD AND MANUFACTURES OF.

YEARS.	VALUES.
1821-1830.....	\$21,107,394
1831-1840.....	29,682,626
1841-1850.....	37,311,191
1851-1860.....	87,119,027
1861-1870.....	131,982,432
1871-1880.....	170,749,624
1881-1890.....	233,676,385
Total 70 years.....	\$711,628,679
Total 1821-1860 (40 years).....	\$175,220,238
" 1861-1890 (30 " ).....	536,408,441

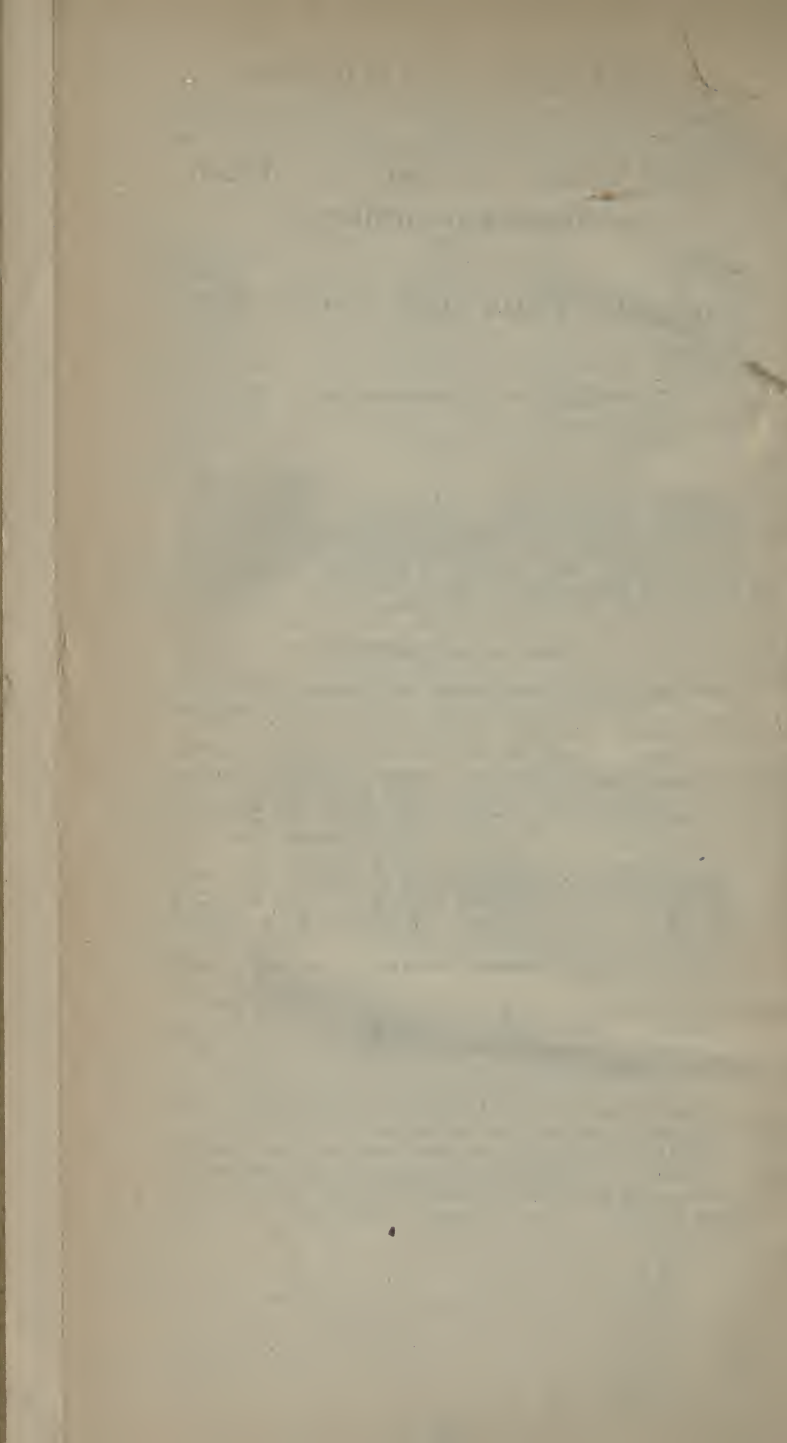
During the forty years ending with 1860, there was exported of wood, and manufactures of, amounted to \$175,220,238, and for the thirty years ending with 1890, was \$536,408,441, an increase of \$361,188,203, or over 206 per cent. The decade ending 1890 exceeded the former decade by 36 per cent.

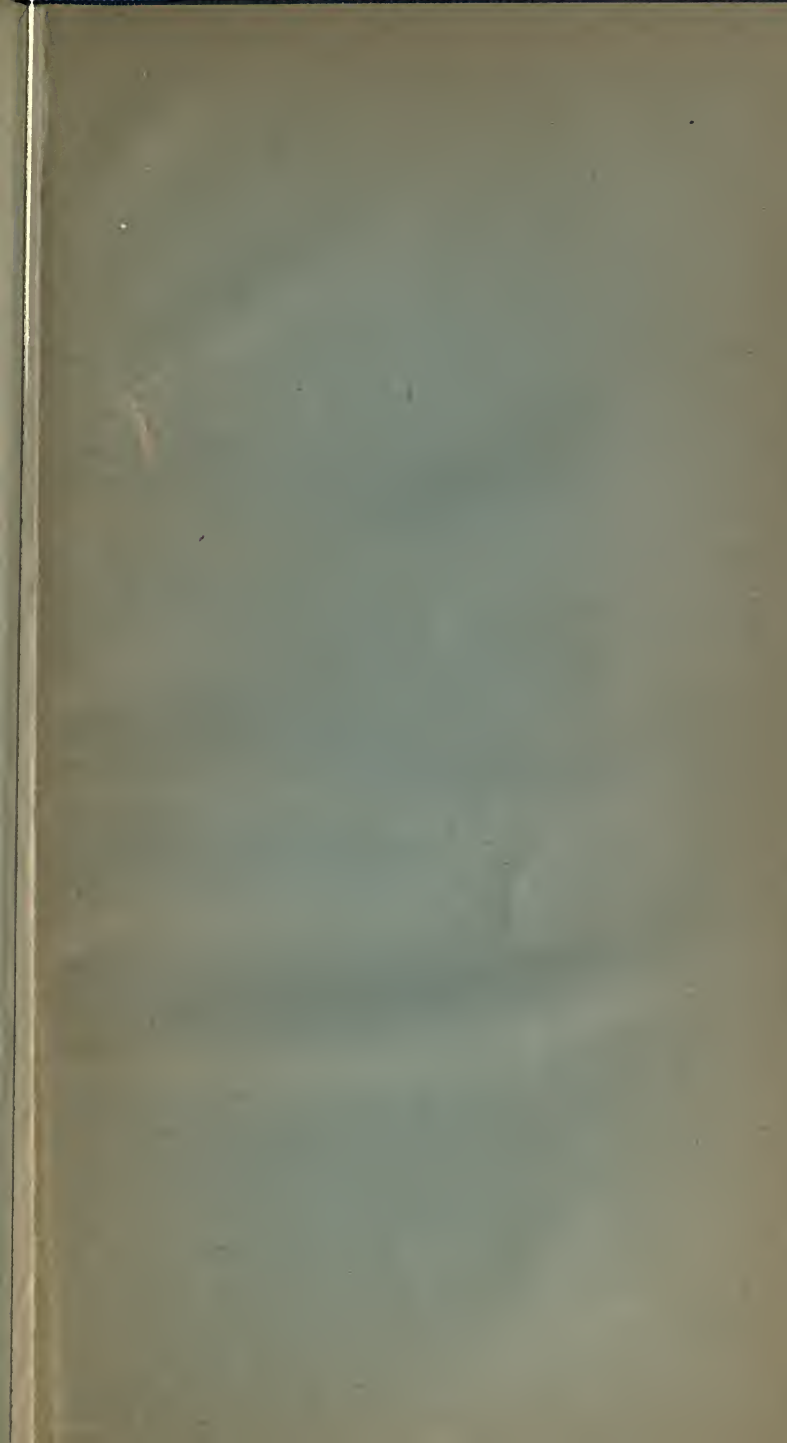
#### WOOL AND MANUFACTURES OF.

Years.	Wool, Raw or Unmanufactured.			Manfs. of
	Pounds.	Values.	Value per Pound.	Values.
1818.....	60,935	\$30,467	Cents. 50.	0
1846-1850.....	2,023,751	454,746	22.5	0
1851-1860.....	4,317,764	1,105,970	25.6	0
1861-1870.....	5,414,282	1,827,329	33.8	\$971,889
1871-1880.....	1,523,029	421,023	27.6	2,579,990
1881-1890....	1,150,252	257,977	22.4	4,971,227
Total . . . . .	14,490,013	\$1,097,512	0	0
Total, 1860.....	6,402,450	\$1,591,183	24.9	0
" 61-90.....	8,087,563	2,506,329	31.	\$8,523,106

The first record of wool appears in 1818, and no other until 1846. For the 16 years ending 1860 there was exported 6,402,450 pounds at an annual average of 25 cts. per pound. For the 30 years ending 1890, there was exported only 14,490,013 pounds. The decrease in exportation is due to the increased manufacture of woollen goods, etc.





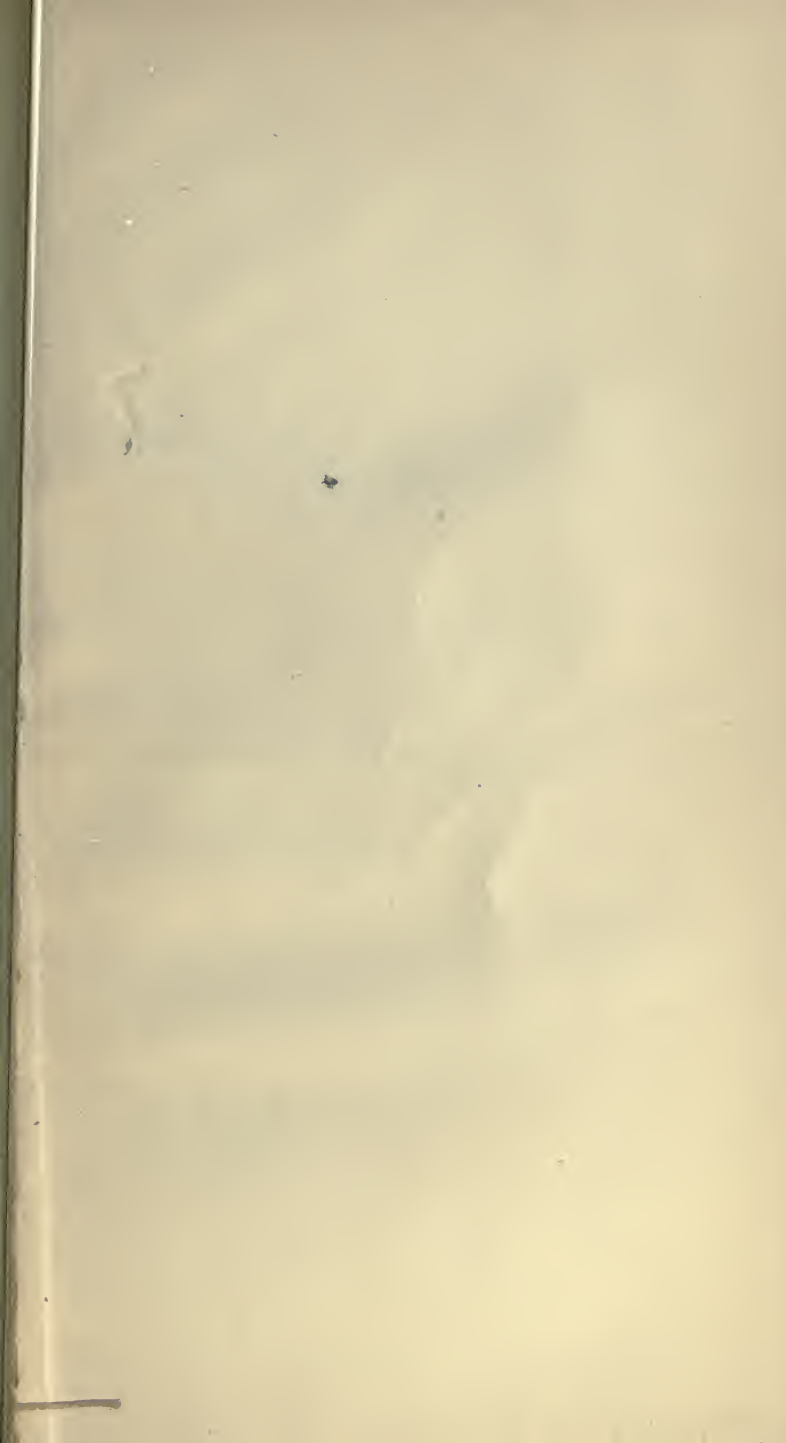


# A COMRADE THEN, A COMRADE NOW.

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"The Union soldiers and sailors are now veterans of time as well as of war. The parallels of age have approached close to the citadels of life, and the end for each of a brave and honorable struggle is not remote. Increasing infirmity and years give the minor tones of sadness and pathos to the mighty appeal of service and suffering. The ear that does not listen with sympathy and the heart that does not respond with generosity are the ear and heart of an alien and not of an American. Now, soon again, the surviving veterans are to parade upon the great avenue of the National Capital, and every tribute of honor and love should attend the march. A comrade in the column of the victors in 1865, I am not less a comrade now."

—BENJAMIN HARRISON.





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